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Selections.

THE MEXICAN MONARCHY.

IMPORTANT CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, May 25, 1864.

THE following message and report were transmitted to the House to-day, and on motion of Mr. Davis (Md.), Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, were referred to that Committee, and ordered to be printed:

To the House of Representatives:

In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives yesterday on the subject of the joint resolution of the 4th of last month, relative to Mexico, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, to whom the resolution was referred.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, May 24, 1864.

To the PRESIDENT: The Secretary of State, to whom has been referred the resolution of the House of Representatives yesterday, requesting the President to communicate to the House, if not inconsistent with the public interest, any explanations given by the government of the United States to the government of France respecting the sense and bearing of the joint resolution relative to Mexico, which passed the House of Representatives unanimously on the 4th of April, 1864, has the honor to lay before the President a copy of all the correspondence on file or on record in this Department on the subject of the joint resolution. Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Department of State, Washington, May 24, 1864.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. DAYTON.

[Extract.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, April 7, 1864.

SIR: I send you a copy of a resolution which passed the House of Representatives on the 4th instant by a unanimous vote, and which declares the opposition of that body to a recognition of a monarchy in Mexico. Mr. Geofrey has lost no time in asking an explanation of this proceeding. It is hardly necessary, after what I have heretofore written with perfect candor for the information of France, to say that this resolution truly interprets the unanimous sentiment of the people of the United States in regard to Mexico. It is, however, another and a distinct question whether the United States would think it necessary or proper to express themselves in the form adopted by the House of Representatives at this time.

This is a practical and merely executive question, and the decision of it constitutionally belongs not to the House of Representatives, nor even to Congress, but to the President of the United States. You will of course take notice that the declaration made by the House of Representatives is in the form of a joint resolution, which, before it can acquire the character of a legislative act, must receive first the concurrence of the Senate, and secondly, the approval of the President of the United States, or, in case of his dissent, the renewed assent of both Houses of Congress, to be expressed by a majority of two-thirds of each body.

While the President receives the declaration of the House of Representatives with the profound respect to which it is entitled as an exposition of its views upon a grave and important subject, he directs that you inform the government of France that he does not at present contemplate any departure from the policy which this government has hitherto pursued in regard to the war which exists between France and Mexico. It is hardly necessary to say that the proceeding of the House of Representatives was adopted upon suggestions arising within itself, and not upon any communication of the Executive department; and that the French would be reasonably apprised of any change upon this subject which the President might at any future time think it proper to adopt. I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

MR. DAYTON TO MR. SEWARD.

[No. 254—Extract.]

PARIS, April 22, 1864.

SIR: I visited M. Drouyn de Lhuys yesterday at the Department of Foreign Affairs. The first words he addressed to me on entering the room were: "Do you bring us peace or bring us war?" I asked him to what he referred, and he said he referred more immediately to those resolutions recently passed by Congress in reference to the invasion of Mexico by the French and the establishment of Maximilian upon the throne of that country. I said to him in reply that I did not think France had a right to infer that we were about to make war against her on account of anything contained in those resolutions; that they embodied nothing more than had been constantly held out to the French government from the beginning; that I had always represented to the government here that any action upon their part interfering with the form of government in Mexico would be looked upon with dissatisfaction in our country, and they could not expect us to be in haste to acknowledge a monarchical government, built upon the foundation of a republic which was our next neighbor; that I had reason to believe you had held the same language to the French Minister in the United States. This allegation he did not deny, but obviously received the resolutions in question as a serious step on our part; and I am told that the leading secessionists here build largely upon these resolutions as a means of fomenting ill feeling between this country and some others and ourselves. Mr. Mason and his Secretary have gone to Brussels to confer with Mr. Dudley Mann, who is their Commissioner at that place. Mr. Slidell, it is said, was to have gone to Austria, although he has not yet gone off. I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WM. L. DAYTON.

Hon. WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State, etc.

MR. DAYTON TO MR. SEWARD.

[Extract No. 461.]

PARIS, May 2, 1864.

SIR: Immediately upon the receipt of your dispatch, No. 525, I applied to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys for a special interview, which was granted for Saturday last. I then said that I knew that the French government had felt some anxiety in respect to the resolution which had recently been passed by the House of Representatives, in reference to Mexico, and, inasmuch as I had just received a copy of that resolution, together with the views of the President of the United States, I begged, if agreeable, to read to him your dispatch in reference to the matter.

To this he assented, and as the shortest and most satisfactory mode, following out my instructions, I read to him that entire portion of your dispatch which applies to this subject, stating at the same time that I thought it was a remarkable illustration of the frankness and straightforwardness of the President. When the reading was closed, Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys expressed his gratification; and after asking some questions in regard to the effect of laying a resolution upon the table in the Senate, the conversation terminated. The extreme sensitiveness which was manifested by this government when the resolution of the House of Representatives was first brought to its knowledge, has, to a considerable extent, at least, subsided.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WM. L. DAYTON.

Hon. WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. DAYTON.

[Extract No. 452.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, May 9, 1864.

SIR: Your dispatch of April 22, No. 454, has been received. What you have said to M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the subject of the resolution of the House of Representatives concerning Mexico, as you have repeated it, is entirely approved. The resolution yet remains unacted upon in the Senate. Mr. Corwin was to leave Vera Cruz on the 3d inst., under the leave of absence granted to him by this Department on the 8th of August last.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

WM. L. DAYTON, Esq., etc.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. DAYTON.

[No. 561.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, May 21, 1864.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of May 2, No. 461, and to approve of your proceedings therein mentioned. We learn that Mr. Corwin, our Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico, is at Havana, on his return to the United States, under leave of absence.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WM. H. SEWARD.

WILLIAM L. DAYTON, Esq., etc.

AN IMPORTANT SUIT.

SEVERAL days ago Senor Arguelles, a Spanish officer charged with selling slaves in Cuba and escaping to New York, was arrested by order of the Secretary of State, and given over to the Spanish authorities. The circumstances of the case and its results make it one of the most interesting cases of its kind that has ever transpired. Don Jose Augustin Arguelles was in November last an officer in the Spanish army, and Lieutenant Governor of the District of Colon in the island of Cuba. During that month he effected the capture of a large expedition of African negroes brought to that island for sale, and received from the Spanish government $15,000 as his share of the prize money usually allowed in such cases. Soon afterward he left for New York, when it was discovered that instead of releasing the captive Africans he and other officers of the District retained one hundred and forty of them, and with cruel treachery sold them into slavery.

The Cuban authorities took immediate steps for the arrest of Arguelles and the liberation of his victims. But they were confronted with difficulty at the outset in the absence of an extradition treaty between our government and Spain, under which the fugitive from justice could be claimed. The facts, however, were communicated to the State Department, and, without the usual diplomatic circumlocution and delay, Mr. Seward caused the captain general of Cuba to be informed that if he would send a suitable officer to New York a way would be found for placing the offender in his charge. Passing over details, the Spaniard was seized on the 11th inst. by United States Marshal Murray, acting with the sanction and authority of the President, placed on board one of the Havana steamers and sent upon his voyage. He has probably had his trial ere this, and will have the opportunity of expiating his infamous crime in the chain gang. The zeal with which this matter has been pursued is equally creditable to the authorities of both goverments.

But the case did not end with the arrest. Madam Arguelles at once brought an action against Marshal Murray and his associates for kidnapping her husband. While the Grand Jury were investigating the case, Secretary Seward laid before them the complete correspondence, from which the above facts are obtained, and also a letter to District Attorney Hall, stating that Marshal Murray made the arrest at the instance and with the sanction of President Lincoln. Notwithstanding this assurance the Grand Jury found an indictment and the case is to be tried. On one side is the Marshal with the letters of Mr. Seward and the authority of the President; on the other Madam Arguelles and the lawyers, who hold, with many high authorities, "that the right to demand and surrender must be founded on treaty, or it does not exist." The Administration is in effect on trial, and the progress of the suit will be watched with interest.

EARLY ANTI-SLAVERY.

From The Christian Ambassador.

IT is a very curious fact in the history of public opinion, that the mass of people who never think or act with early reformers, gradually come to persuade themselves, as the reformation goes on and grows popular, that they were always of that party, or at least always sympathized with its spirit. We have no descendants to-day of the Tories of the Revolution. Twenty years hence there will not be a man in all the North who favored secession, or cherished any sympathy with rebels! Even now it is rare to meet one who has ever wished well to slavery, or desired anything but its final abolition! The present aiders and abettors of rebellion in Congress, or out of it, will twenty, aye, ten years hence, prove to you that it was not the rebellion they wished to promote, but they were anxious to promote the overthrow of the Constitution and the establishment of a military despotism!!

While men are thus very lenient towards themselves, they are apt to be quite as unjust towards their neighbors. Our self-conceit sometimes makes us a little envious of those who have done a work which, probably, is likely to honor them, and which we, in our indolence or opposition, altogether failed to perform, or even assist in performing.

We have what seems to us a striking illustration of this phase of human weakness in an article which appeared some time ago in the New York Daily *Times*, and was reproduced with singular approbation in the New York *Observer*. The aim of the article, which is too long to be copied in these columns, was to show, as *The Observer* expresses it, "that the English Abolitionist, George Thompson, and the Garrisonian school are not entitled to any gratitude for their efforts to promote disunion and abolition." The thought is very neatly turned and is worthy of a well trained politician. "Disunion and abolition!" as if the first object—the great purpose of these men was to effect *disunion*; and abolition was only a secondary and insignificant matter!

"These men," says *The Times*, "labored exactly for the same end for which John C. Calhoun labored—the dissolution of the Union between the non-slaveholding and the slaveholding States. Their moral purpose differed from his, but their political purpose was exactly the same. In idea opposed as widely as the poles, in action they worked shoulder to shoulder. Calhoun endeavored to break up the Union to save slavery; Garrison endeavored to break up the Union to get loose from slavery. Slavery made one a disunion man; anti-slavery the other. Yet they both worked, each in his own way, with entire devotion to the common object."

The conclusion to which this zealous partisan comes, and which its religious coadjutor warmly approves, is, that Garrison and his school, as it is called, not only did nothing to promote emancipation, but their whole influence tended only to retard it.

"We have not a particle of doubt," continues *The Times*, "that there was not a year in the twenty-five years preceding the rebellion, when the anti-slavery cause in this country would not have further advanced, and been in every respect better off, had William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips and George Thompson, or disunion abolition speakers and writers like them, never existed."

To all this *The Observer* adds a hearty amen, and proceeds to exhibit the imposing fact in another phase:

"It would be an easy task to go back to the early history of the country, and show, as *The Observer* has again and again done in times past, that the strong, steady and prevailing current of sentiment among good men in the North and South has been anti-slavery from the beginning. We are well aware that it has been, and will yet be assumed by the ignorant and prejudiced that hearty opposition to the system was confined almost entirely to those who were loudest in invective. We venture to say that their opposition was least of all to be accounted of as contributing to any solid result. They were but the foam on the crest of the wave, more demonstrative, but least weighty. *The strong under-current of American sentiment and feeling has, from the first, been one of opposition to slavery.* The testimony to this is abundantly furnished by historical facts."

We fear that we belong to the pretty large party of "ignorant and prejudiced" persons here referred to; and, to prove it, we will state what we suppose to be quite incontestible facts, as follows:

1. That "Garrison and his school" stand, among living anti-slavery men, not only foremost in point of time, but also as regards their profound hatred of the accursed institution, their tireless denunciation of it and its abettors, and their bitter, relentless war upon it, regardless of private interests, public reputation, or life itself. Never, since the age of the apostles, have men arrayed themselves—from mere love of principle and their fellow-men; from hatred of injustice and oppression—against a giant wrong, hedged round with power, rendered popular by interests, and sanctified by a thousand pious lies, with a more self-sacrificing spirit or with a more earnest devotion than these men have, through the third part of a century, exhibited. We have no words to express our admiration of that moral heroism, which through so many years of conflict and obloquy has unfalteringly pushed its way.

2. That "Garrison and his school" never for a moment desired disunion for itself, and regarded it only as the lesser evil of two, that seemed to them, at times, presented to their choice. They saw slavery gradually but surely working its way into power; they saw political parties formed and bending about it; they saw the government perverted to advance the interests of slavery, and the Constitution itself, which was formed to promote liberty and secure justice, made the instrument of bondage and oppression. Under the all-pervading influence of this Upas they saw the pulpit become the apologist of this hoary wrong, and even the Bible made to utter its sanction to it! Is it wonderful that men, touched and penetrated as they were with a sense of this great villany, should have wished for the dissolution of the Union, for anything indeed that might restore the people to moral sanity, and lead them back to reverence for Right and God? Garrison and his school were called fanatics; they were thought to be wild, heady men, carried away by extravagance, and more the subjects of a lunatic asylum than objects of respect. But who, think you, now, were the madmen, those who were quietly warming the viper in their bosom, or they who saw the folly, and cried out against it? We are to-day paying the terrible penalty of our national madness and sin.

3. Had it not been for Garrison and his school, had the interests and the salvation of the country been confided to the counsels and keeping of *The Times* and *The Observer* and those who sympathized with them, God only knows what our condition would now have been. Say what you will of their extravagance, of their severity, of their irreligion, of their want of patriotism, and their hatred of a union of right and wrong, of liberty and slavery, it cannot in justice be denied that they have been, under God, our pioneers out of the slough into which we were sinking. They kept alive a strong anti-slavery sentiment, which elsewhere was dying out, and roused, as with the voice of a trumpet, the sleeping souls of millions to a conflict which is now coming to an end; which, beginning in the thoughts of a single heart, it may be, is now being settled on the great battle-field of a mighty nation.

God be thanked for Garrison and his school. We would gladly share the honor that history will yet award them. We do not assume that they were perfect. They had the passions of other men, but if they possess great faults, they also share great virtues, which posterity will acknowledge, and the spirit of justice and liberty will consecrate.

MR. FOSTER IN DEFENCE OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

From The Hartford Evening Press.

IF we were surprised at the votes of Messrs. Foster and Dixon in the Senate in favor of retaining the odious Fugitive Slave law of 1793 on the statute book, we are astounded when we come to read the argument of Senator Foster, vindicating this extraordinary step of the two Senators. Mr. Dixon was silent, and we must presume that he had nothing better to say in vindication of an unfaithful act than Mr. Foster has said.

Before approaching the technical, special pleading of this speech which lies before us, it is necessary to remember in what year, and surrounded by what circumstances, it is made. If the great events of the past three years have taught the Senators nothing, they are almost the only ones unmoved. Since 1861 a great revolution has taken place in the public mind upon the question of slavery. We state a fact. We have heretofore acquiesced in an interpretation of the Constitution that protected slavery and made us all slave-hunters.

We have done this until slavery has almost destroyed, nay is *now* almost destroying the nation. But we now propose to interpret the Constitution in favor of liberty. We prefer to insist even on technicalities on the side of freedom. If slavery is not, in words, nominated in the bond, you shall not have slavery. The Constitution as a whole means liberty; its various parts cannot be harmonized if you construe some of the clauses into opposition to liberty. Now, we say, that if there is any doubt, give freedom the benefit. And further than this question of interpretation, the good sense of the people, the popular judgment has settled down upon one thing, and that is the legal extinction of slavery. They believe and say with that true men, Ulysses S. Grant, we cannot have peace until slavery is removed, and we ought to accept no peace not founded on freedom.

How astonishing it is then to patriots and Union men and anti-slavery men to see Lafayette S. Foster, who has been believed to be all three, stand up in the Senate and pettifog for slavery. And the language, not such as we have lately been accustomed to hear from New England. The speech is full of profession of fidelity to the Constitution; it is all Constitution, Constitution, over and over again. We have become accustomed to these spasms of constitutional devotion in former years; they always happen when the speaker is going on his marrow bones to slavery. It is the old dough-faced talk, of which we did hope we had heard the last. We are with reason suspicious of these extra fervid professions of devotion to the Constitution which are always accompanied by equal devotion to slavery. The rough winds of the past three years don't seem to have blown the idea out of Mr. Foster's brain that slavery is somehow an integral part of the Constitution, of the Union, something to be sedulously cared for.

And, again, before proceeding to consider Mr. Foster's speech, let us see what is this law which he is voting to restore. The law of 1850 he says he considers unconstitutional. It was odious, but it was only worse in that it was capable of more extensive execution than that of 1793. In spirit and intention it is no worse. Nay, the act of 1793 has more objectionable features than that of 1850. The pith of the law of 1793 is in the following section:

"Sec. 3. *And be it also enacted*, That when a person held to labor in any of the United States, or in either of the territories on the northwest or south of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other of the said states or territory, the person to whom such labor or service may be due, his agent or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing or being within the State, or before any magistrate of a county, city or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, and upon proof to the satisfaction of such judge or magistrate, either by oral testimony or affidavit taken before and certified by a magistrate of any such State or territory that the person so seized or arrested, doth, under the laws of the State or territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge or magistrate to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labor to the State or territory from which he or she fled."

By this act every magistrate in the free States is made a slave-hunter; the Senator is no doubt a magistrate at home, and by his support of it he volunteers to be a slave-catcher, he and ten other free-state Senators. Mr. Foster elaborately vindicates slave-hunting as a constitutional duty. The right of capture is in the Constitution, there must be a law for carrying it out. I choose, says Mr. Foster, the law of 1793. Why does he choose it? If he is honest in his desire to have that provision of the Constitution executed, and slaves returned, as he seems to be, or he would not insist so much upon the obligation, he must regard the act of 1793 as better calculated to reclaim fugitives. For if he regards the law as worthless, then he is not acting honorably toward his pro-slavery friends, nor trying in good faith according to his oath as he explains it, to make effective that provision of the Constitution. The law of 1850 provided for the appointment of United States Commissioners, who could resign and escape the odious service if they chose. The law of 1793 put the villainous task upon State officers, and they could not all resign without leaving the State without magistrates to enforce the State laws.

What the honorable Senator should have gone for, under his fearful load of constitutional responsibilities, was an amendment, not a repeal, of the law of 1850, so as to make it more effective. It is not so mean as the act of 1793. It speaks out plainly, it does not violate the Constitution so radically. This matter, which we want space to elaborate, was conclusively argued years ago by Mr. Secretary Chase, in the famous Van Zandt slave case in Ohio. The act of 1793 violates State rights by imposing upon State officers criminal functions. If the Constitution has a provision for slave-hunting, it must set its own agents to the work. Connecticut does not recognize slavery, and has no officers for that business—except such volunteers as our two Senators.

And again, if Mr. Foster is right in his position, we think that our difference with Jeff. Davis is altogether too immaterial to be fought about. If it is true that we have no right to construe the Constitution so that it shall harmoniously in all its parts mean liberty, and Virginia can set up laws of perpetual slavery which Connecticut must execute, we don't see but Jeff. has a good cause. Mr. Foster knows very well that the constitutional obligation for the return of fugitives rests upon the assumption that the United States are a compact, a partnership, not a union. This is Calhoun's notion; and it is upon the fulfillment of an assumed compact between the States about slavery that the Fugitive Slave act is based. According to this theory the Union is only a partnership of sovereign States. This is secession. If Mr. Foster is right in his enforcement now of this always doubtful obligation, which is alike divorced from humanity and justice, we cannot see why he should urge a war which means nothing if it does not mean liberty, since all men do now know that union is not possible with slavery.

THE ARREARS DUE TO COLORED SOLDIERS.

GOV. ANDREW has addressed the following letter to President Lincoln:

[COPY.]

BOSTON, May 13th, 1864.

To the President of the United States:

SIR: I respectfully call to the attention of your Excellency the case of the Rev. Samuel Harrison (late Chaplain of the 54th Regiment of Massachusetts Infantry Volunteers), and the communication which I had the honor to address to your Excellency on the twenty-fourth day of March last, and the decision of the Attorney-General of the United States on the questions of law involved in the case, which decision was submitted by him to your Excellency under date of the twenty-third day of April last, and concluded in the following words, viz:

"Your attention having been specially called to the wrong done in this case, I am also of opinion that your constitutional obligation to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, makes it your duty to direct the Secretary of War to inform the officers of the Pay Department of the Army that such is your view of the law, and I do not doubt that it will be accepted by them as furnishing the correct rule for their action. (Signed) EDWARD BATES, Attorney General."

Addressed to the President.

As a proper representative of Chaplain Harrison and of all the non-commissioned officers and privates of the 54th and 55th Regiments of Massachusetts Infantry Volunteers, the rights and interests of all of whom are involved in the settlement of the legal questions aforesaid—after having waited during a reasonable time for the consideration of the subject by your Excellency—I do hereby respectfully claim and so much as in me lies I do by this appeal to your Excellency, hereby demand of and from the Executive Department of the goverment of the United States, the just, full and immediate payment to all the aforesaid officers and men, of the sums of money now due to them as Volunteer Soldiers of the United States serving in the field, according to the 5th Section of the 9th Chapter of the Acts of Congress of the year 1861, placing the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the Volunteer forces in all respects as to pay on the footing of similar corps of the regular army. Already these soldiers—than whom none have been more distinguished for toilsome work in the trenches, fatigue duty in camp, and conspicuous valor and endurance in battle—have waited during twelve months, and many of them yet longer, for their just and lawful pay.

Many of those who marched in these regiments from this Commonwealth have been worn out in service, or have fallen in battle on James Island, in the assault upon Fort Wagner, or in the affair of Olustee, yielding up their lives for the defence of their native country, in which they had felt their share of oppression, but from which they never had received justice. Many, also, yet linger, bearing honorable wounds, but dependent upon public charity while unpaid by the government of the nation the humble wages of a soldier, and sick at heart as they contemplate their own humiliation.

Of others, yet alive and remaining in the service, still fighting and wholly unpaid, the families have been driven to beggary and the alms-house.

These regiments, sir, and others situated like these—stung by grief, and almost crazed by pangs with which every brave and true man on earth must sympathize—are trembling on the verge of military demoralization. Already one man in a South Carolina regiment—raised under the orders of Maj.-Gen. Hunter, with the same interpretation of the laws of Congress now given them by the Attorney-General of the United States—has suffered the penalty of DEATH for the military offence of mutiny, by refusing further obedience to his officers, and declaring that, by its own breach of faith, the government of the United States had released him from his contract of enlistment as a soldier.

The government which found no law *to pay him except as a nondescript or a contraband*, nevertheless found law enough *to shoot him as a soldier*.

In behalf of the sufferings of the poor and needy; of the rights of brave men in arms for their country; of the statutes of Congress; and of the honor of the Nation, I pray your Excellency to interpose the rightful power of the Chief Executive Magistrate of the United States, who is bound by his oath "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed"; and by its immediate exercise, to right these wrongs.

I have the honor to remain

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN A. ANDREW,

Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

ILL-TIMED FANATICISM.

THE N. Y. *Times* has a sharp leader denunciatory of "False Issues and a Fanatical Spirit," wherein the illustrations seem to us to be at striking odds with the principle enunciated. That the great Union party wherewith our country is to stand or fall should not be distracted and divided by narrow cliques, petty feuds, and immaterial side issues, this is the principle affirmed, and the affirmation has our heartiest assent. But hear *The Times* in contravention of its own sound general proposition:

"A while ago, it was undertaken to identify the abolition of slavery with the abolition of the States containing it. Now, the effort is to carry universal black suffrage with emancipation, and to make the adoption of that an absolute test of anti-slavery principles.

"We have seen this purpose displayed in the protracted controversy between the Senate and the House on the bill organizing the Territory of Montana. Though no negroes ever have settled, or ever will settle in that region, yet the crusaders forced an issue whether, supposing they were, they should be allowed to vote. Upon that empty abstraction, they wasted days of the most important period of this session. Now, the question is again raised on the point of giving the franchise to all the black men of the District of Columbia. Not only is this urged, but it is declared that all who object to it are not true anti-slavery men—that they are still under a malign pro-slavery bias. Mr. Sumner stigmatized these objections as evidence that 'slavery dies hard in this chamber,' and charged upon Senators who were opposed to an extension of the franchise a 'vindication of slavery in one of its meanest productions.'

"The absurdity of this, of course, is manifest to every man of the least reflection. The question whether the slave shall be given his natural freedom has no connection with the other question whether he shall be allowed power at the ballot-box. The true Republican doctrine is that freedom is the natural right of all men, but that intelligence ought to accompany the exercise of every civil franchise. From the beginning, popular education has been considered the indispensable basis of our institutions—the one thing absolutely essential to their security."

"No negroes," it seems, "have settled, or ever will settle," in Montana: what, then, but the meanest and most malignant "fanaticism" can require their perpetual disfranchisement in an ordinance providing for the government of that territory? What sense in specially denying them the right of suffrage where there is not one of them to exercise or claim it? Why single them out for proscription at a moment when one hundred and thirty thousand of them are offering their breasts as a rampart for the national integrity, and pouring out their blood to save the national life? The Calmucks, the Lappes, the Fellahs, are probably even less intelligent with regard to our politics than the negroes and mulattoes born among and fighting for us; yet it is not deemed necessary, in organizing Montana, to bar the approach of any of these to the ballot-box: why, then, prohibit voting by negroes in a territory where there are and will be no negroes to vote? The desperately fighting rebel of to-day may lay aside his arms, migrate to Montana, and become forthwith one of her electors; but the black man who fights for the Union is warned by statute that he can follow, at the close of the war, on condition of perpetual disfranchisement and vassalage. Is it patriotism or faction that insists on enacting and blazoning this at present? What good end is subserved by such action? What necessity commands it?

The Times dispels all the real difficulty that can be conceived in the premises by asserting that "The true republican doctrine is, that freedom is the natural right of all men, but that intelligence ought to accompany [we would rather say, precede and justify] the exercise of every civil franchise." Then why not solve the whole problem by simply giving the right of suffrage to all who can intelligently read? Massachusetts, says *The Times*, does this, and thereby withholds the suffrage from illiterate, ignorant negroes and from illiterate, ignorant whites as well. The rule certainly works well there; the untaught, benighted negroes do not complain; and, so long as they are satisfied, the educated, intelligent whites surely ought to be. Say to the just liberated slave, "You cannot vote yet, because of your ignorance; but qualify yourself by learning to read, and you shall have the same rights with others," and you supply him with a motive for study and intellectual culture, and you strongly incite him to seek and strive for the education of his children. And not he only, but other illiterate, benighted persons are likewise stimulated to energy and diligence in the pursuit of rudimental knowledge. But those whose battle *The Times* fights insist that blacks shall never vote, though learned and intelligent as Humboldt, while they would guarantee the right of suffrage to all whites, though they wilfully, obstinately refuse to learn to read. We beg *The Times* to reconsider this whole matter, eschew all "fanaticism," and throw its weight into the scale of justice, honor, patriotism and common sense.—*Tribune.*

A REMARKABLE DISCOVERY.

From The Liberator.

"WARRINGTON"—the Boston correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*—who frequently says a smart thing, is sometimes a little too smart for the occasion. Here is an instance:

"The schism between Phillips and Garrison is one of the most curious events of the age. Garrison's editorials now-a-days are of that class which he used to print on his first page under the head of 'Refuge of Oppression.' I suppose he has actually got tired out in the cause. The inevitable reaction has come to him which comes to nearly all men who have worked thirty or forty years in one direction; and by a too vigorous summersault he has thrown himself backward clear beyond the radical Republicans who used to be too slow for him, and has landed among the conservatives and hunkers. He is not to be blamed. He is a victim of the same law which makes the total abstinence man of 21 take a trifle of toddy at 35, and perhaps his regular drinks at 40. I doubt whether Phillips or Pillsbury will hold out so long as Garrison has. I expect to become a desperate hunker by the year 1870, and to be rebuking *The Republican* for its destructive radicalism."

"The schism between Phillips and Garrison"! This unquestionably "is one of the most curious *discoveries* of the age." What schism? Is there any difference between P. and G. respecting the principles or doctrines for which they have so long contended? None. Is there any difference between them as to the duty to secure liberty and justice for the colored race as fully before the law as for the white race? None. What, then, is the nature of the "schism" which "Warrington" so confidently pronounces "one of the most curious events of the age"? It is simply that P. and G. take different views of the approaching Presidential election as it may affect the noble cause so dear to them both, and the safety and welfare of the country in a time of imminent peril and all-abounding sedition. P. is strongly opposed to the reëlection of Abraham Lincoln, as one unfit for the station he occupies, and unworthy of popular confidence or respect. We dissent from this estimate of the President, and believe his reëlection is determined upon by the loyal portion of the Republic as a matter of wisdom, justice, and gratitude for the labors he has performed, the perils incurred, the trials experienced, in an honest endeavor faithfully to meet the tremendous difficulties and responsibilities thrown upon him by the most hateful and colossal rebellion, waged for the most despotic purposes, that the world has ever known. Will "Warrington" tell us why we are bound to agree with Mr. Phillips, or he with us, in this matter? It is simply a matter of judgment, involving no principle, and producing no personal variance; and, therefore, to proclaim it a "schism," "one of the most curious events of the age," is to utter downright nonsense. Mr. Phillips is as free to be criticized as he is to criticize; and so are we. Abolitionists are the last persons to make any man their oracle, or to merge their individuality in that of any living being. It is inevitable, in the altered state of the times, that they should form, and independently express (as they always will) different opinions and impressions, obtained from different points of vision, concerning the action of the government and the tendency of events as affecting the freedom of the negro and the safety of the country. But they are none the less united in purpose on that account.

Not less nonsensical is the assertion of "Warrington," that "Garrison's editorials, now-a-days, are of that class which he used to print on his first page under the head of Refuge of Oppression"!! We have no other reply to make to a calumny like this than to say, that when any of our editorials shall be eagerly copied by Copperhead journals, to subserve their own purposes, as the effusions of "Warrington" are, from time to time (in the present instance by the Boston *Post*), it will be time enough for us to consider whether we are growing lax in principle, blind in vision, or foolish in utterance.

"Warrington" charitably (?) thinks we have "actually got tired out in the cause." He is again mistaken. In such a cause we can never grow weary. If, through a generation of opprobrium and murderous hostility, we never faltered, is it for us to droop now that the cause is so near its perfect triumph? Are our exulting tones, in view of the progress of events, indications of despondency or exhaustion? Abolitionists know, by happy experience, the truth of the scriptural declaration, "They shall run, and not be weary; they shall walk, and not faint; yea, they shall mount up as on eagle's wings."

Claiming himself to be a Radical Republican, "Warrington" very complacently and modestly says, "By a too vigorous summersault, he (Garrison) has thrown himself backward clear beyond the Radical Republicans, who used to be too slow for him, and has landed among the conservatives and hunkers"! So much for expressing the opinion that the people mean to reëlect Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency,—the dissent of "Warrington" to the contrary notwithstanding! Now, we have always expected that in the culmination of the Anti-Slavery struggle, neophytes and eleventh hour men, both politically and religiously, would affect to be more vigilant, more earnest, more thorough Abolitionists than ourselves, and rebuke us for our lack of zeal and vigor; and we are not disappointed. Nevertheless, if it is a gratification to them, it is no less amusing to us, as characteristic of human nature at a pinch. "Our withers are unwrung" by such imputations.

Finally "Warrington" says he "expects to become a desperate hunker by the year 1870," and he will perhaps not be disappointed. He is certainly competent to speak for himself, but not to assume that others are equally unreliable.

THE END OF SLAVERY.

From The Springfield Republican.

AMERICAN writers and speakers have arrived at the point (thank God!) when they can speak of Providence without blushing or stammering. It is not considered a sign of womanly weakness, or of bigoted superstition, now, to believe that a Supreme Being is directing the historical developments of the nation, and working out, through its gigantic efforts and its stupendous sacrifices, his own grand designs for the establishment of justice and the rehabilitation of freedom in the land. The blindest can now see that the war in which we have been engaged for the last three years has been a process of education, absolutely essential to the ends which this Supreme Providence has had in view. Without this halting, this waiting, these blunders, these terrible and often-repeated sacrifices, these discussions, this weaning process that has been going on between party pride and a great system of social wrong, slavery could not, and would not, have been destroyed. If we had been overwhelmingly successful at the first battle of Bull Run, and the rebellion had been conquered then and there, we should not have had virtue in the North sufficient to insist on the destruction of slavery as a condition of restoration and peace. The ten thousand adversities to which the nation has been subjected have not yet entirely converted it to a practical faith in the creed of which it boasts, and to which it was born. There are men in the North who love slavery still, and who would gladly see it restored to its position of leadership in the national councils. How far we are to suffer for these, in the future, it remains to be seen; but if they are wise they will learn in time that they must bend to the Supreme Will, or be ground to powder.

And if this long war—with all its disasters and discouragements—has been necessary to educate the North, it has also been necessary for the utter exhaustion and the irremediable destruction of the Slave Power of the South. If the victory had been early—even if it had carried with it the nominal destruction of the slave system—it would have left a formidable party, bent on revolution and revenge. It was absolutely essential that the entire power of this oligarchy should be summoned into the field, and there forever defeated—there rendered utterly helpless and hopeless. We can see all this now. We can see that a victory which would have left the same leaders in power, with the same unbroken affiliations with Northern parties and Northern men, would have been no victory, and would have brought no permanent peace. And the end approaches. Every available man under the Slave Power, except the slaves themselves, is in the field to-day—in the field, as we believe, for a final and complete defeat,—brought into the field for the express purpose of being defeated. The crowning victory may still be delayed, for wise purposes—purposes which consult only the entire conversion and reformation of the North, and the extermination of every power and the extirpation of every policy which would oppress four million human beings for whom Jesus Christ lived and died. The victory may be delayed, but it will come; and when it comes, the African will be respected as a man, and will have a man's privileges and prerogatives. It takes no power of prophecy to say this. It is the end and lesson of the war.

Slavery is dying and will die. Let no statesman, politician, or party approach to comfort it in its parting struggle, for that struggle will be violent and offensive. A Presidential contest even now looms up beyond the terrible battles which are to decide the fate of the nation's cause. Let no man and no body of men look forward to any possible bargain with the Slave Power, for party ascendancy in national affairs, or betray the remotest sympathy with that system which is alone responsible for this horrible war; for as certainly as they do it, they will go to the wall. No party can go into this contest with sneers for the negro, and evident sympathy with those who have held him in bondage, and come out of it alive. That party is sure to prevail which the most unequivocally places itself on the side of humanity, and in harmony with the designs of Providence, as the grand events of the war have unfolded them. If the Democratic party, or any portion of it, shall go into the Presidential contest as open opposers of the policy of emancipation, it will die in whole or in part, and sink beyond the reach of resurrection.

Beyond all this struggle, which has seemed so long, and which still looks so infinite in its continuance, there is a day of peace. Hearts will heal; new ranks of men will come up to fill the places of those who are gone; new social systems will take the place of dead barbarisms; and then a grateful nation will look back to this heroic time, proud of their ancestry, and rejoicing most of all in the universal freedom which their heroism secured. Then it will be read with shame and wonder that it took whole years of discipline to bring the nation to a hatred of slavery, and the determination to exterminate it. Then it will be read with shame and wonder that, at the North, there were men who rejoiced at every disaster to the national arms, whose hearts were with the Slave Power, who counted it a dishonor to be called an Abolitionist, and who mourned when the curse of slavery was wiped away. Then it will be read with shame and wonder that in the midst of this great struggle there were political cliques and parties which coolly calculated whether capital could be made by still adhering to the fortunes of a system which menaced the national existence, and destroyed a quarter of a million of its truest men.

DEMOCRATIC ANXIETY TO SAVE SLAVERY.

THE latest Democratic effort to save slavery from the destruction that now threatens it was made in Congress last week. Mr. Dawson of Pennsylvania offered a series of resolutions deprecating the evils of war, proclaiming the desirableness of peace, reiterating the declarations of Congress and the President that the war is not for conquest or subjugation, but solely to maintain the Union, and requiring the President to proclaim an amnesty and invite the seceded States to return on the sole condition of submission to the Constitution and laws. Fifty-three Democratic members voted for the resolutions, seventy-six Republicans against them, and so they were rejected.

On their face, the resolutions of Mr. Dawson are innocent enough, and the opposition papers interpret their rejection to mean that the party in power desires to continue the war till the South is utterly subjugated, and will not consent to the return of the seceded States on condition of the renewal of their allegiance to the government. This statement is false, because the essential elements in the case are intentionally omitted and ignored. The Administration and the party of the Administration are ready to receive the South back into the Union whenever it shall throw down its arms and return to its allegiance, and to concede to that section all its rights under the Constitution. But the rebellion has originated new circumstances which cannot be left out of account, and the war has imposed new conditions that can by no means be evaded. In the exercise of the war power the Commander-in-Chief has declared the slaves in the insurgent districts free; he has armed many thousands of them, and they are fighting by the side of our white soldiers for the life of the nation. These are fixed facts; it is not possible to take back the events of three years and act as if they had never occurred. These negro soldiers, and their wives and children, these hundreds of thousands of other freed people within our lines, belong legally and constitutionally to their old masters, if we could thus blot out the events of the war and go back to the situation of 1861. But everybody must see that there can be no such retrogression. It would be as impracticable as monstrous. Now, the President has offered amnesty to the rebellious people and States of the South, and on the most liberal terms possible, under these facts. It requires only loyalty to the Constitution and acquiescence in the most important measure adopted for the suppression of the rebellion. It is too late to inquire now whether that measure was in itself wise and timely. It has partially gone into effect, and cannot be arrested without grievous wrong and evil. If everything urged against the measure were admitted, still the easiest and safest way out of the dilemma now is to go through with it, more especially as the final result, the freedom of the whole people, is an end devoutly to be desired.

The thing to be noted by patriotic Democrats in this matter is, that their leaders are so exceedingly anxious to save negro slavery from utter destruction. There is much vague declamation among them about State rights and State institutions being in danger, but as a matter of fact the only institution in danger is slavery, and the only right imperilled is the right to make brutes of men and compel them to work without wages. Any man who understands the idea and spirit of Democracy might be expected to welcome the first opportunity to strike a deadly blow at such an undemocratic institution. On the contrary, we find our Democratic leaders showing more anxiety to save slavery than to save the country, and continually, in Congress and out, raising opposition to an emancipation policy in the war, on all sorts of pretences, sometimes honest, perhaps, but for the most part false and deceptive. What do these men mean? Do they hope to secure power again through their subserviency to the negro-whipping aristocracy; or do they keep up the old style of talk from mere force of habit? We call the attention of Democrats of the common sort, who do the working and the voting, to these persistent efforts of their leaders to protect slavery from the doom that it deserves and that evidently hangs over it, and asks them what they think of the matter. Does it look to them Democratic or patriotic, or even reasonably politic, as things are? Slavery has been a great political power, but it does not need a Solomon to teach us that "a living dog is better than a dead lion."—*Springfield Republican.*

THE "POOR WHITES."—The Cincinnati *Gazette* has a letter from Nashville, dated April 22, which says:

"I devoted an hour this morning to an examination of the Refugees' Home in this city. I presume that the scenes of distress, wretchedness and degradation, to be witnessed there are not surpassed on the face of the earth. The poor, miserable and persecuted creatures seem to have lost all heart and hope, if they ever had any. Everything is done by the authorities here that can be done for their relief, in the way of furnishing rations and quarters; but they huddle down in the warmest corner they can find on the floor, and in the dirt, and refuse to be comforted. The women all smoke pipes, old and young, dip snuff, and some of them chew tobacco. They seem to have no idea of work, except field-work. There is a great deal of sickness among them, the deaths averaging probably six per day. These unhappy outcasts call loudly upon the Christian public for speedy and generous benefactions."

—These refugees are Poor Whites—victims of rebel cruelty and outrage, who have fled from the scenes of guerilla burnings, robberies and murders, to Nashville, as a place of comparative safety.

War makes multitudes of such fugitives—bereaved, destitute, horror-stricken; their faculties paralyzed; their spirits broken, and they devoid of all aspiration save for safety, shelter, food, and rest. Where *negroes* are found in this category, the Copperhead journals parade their sufferings and their helplessness as proofs that slavery is beneficent, and ought to be perpetuated. What do they say to such pictures as the above?—*Tribune*.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1864.

THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention was held on Thursday and Friday of last week, in Boston. The attendance was never larger at any of the thirty-two or thirty-three Conventions which have met successively since the anti-slavery movement began. And the speaking was never more animated nor the listening more eager than this time. The excitation of the hour, when every tremble of the electric wires seemed charged with messages of public and private fate, could not be excluded from the assembly of the Abolitionists. And the grave importance of the issues wrapped up in the approaching Presidential election must of necessity impress itself upon their discussions. In point of fact, the fitness or unfitness of Mr. Lincoln for renomination formed the staple of debate, and the ability and eloquence with which his merits and demerits were attacked and defended made the sessions of the Convention more than usually interesting to the outside public as well as its actual members. It cannot be denied that the speeches were marked rather by the passionate partisanship of the caucus than by the judicial calmness and impartiality which have generally distinguished the judgments passed by Abolitionists upon public men in their meetings. But the fever of politics is epidemic, and when it is contracted, the symptoms are much the same in all patients. In no caucus, however, could the discussions held in the Tremont Temple have been had, inasmuch as no reply is permitted in political meetings. And it was this circumstance, as well as the distinguished ability of the debaters, which gave so lively a relish to these keen encounters of wits. Our readers, we trust, will have the speeches laid in full before them, that they may judge of their character for themselves, and of their appropriateness to an anti-slavery meeting proper. It has never been our custom to take an active part, as Abolitionists, in favor of one Presidential candidate against another. Our direct political influence has always been too inconsiderable to make such a step expedient, had there been no principle to prevent it. Our moral power, on the contrary, strengthened by this very independence of position, has had a great modifying effect upon the history of our times, our enemies being our authentic witnesses. We certainly helped to create that measure of anti-slavery feeling which made the slaveholders think that the country was getting too hot to hold them. And we have done something towards giving direction to that tide of public sentiment which has floated Mr. Lincoln into his present position.

We could not enter, personally, into the extreme views of either side of the discussion. It seemed to us that the strictures upon Mr. Lincoln were much too severe and sweeping, and that the eulogies of his admirers were too unqualified and indiscriminating. We cannot believe that he kept McClellan in command of the army for the purpose of hindering success, nor yet that the present campaign is engineered as a means for his reëlection. On the other hand, it seemed to us that, in the sense of the injustice thus done, the shortcomings, meannesses and malfeasances of the present Administration were passed over with too light a hand. The veil of charity was almost too readily thrown over the trucklings to Kentucky, the military and political interferences to prevent Missouri from Immediate Emancipation by law, the endorsement, at least, of Banks's scheme of policy in Louisiana, the monstrous assumption of legislative power in the Amnesty Proclamation, and, above all, the refusal of equal justice to the black soldiers the President had summoned to the defence of the country. We have always endeavored to do full and exact justice to Mr. Lincoln. We have been ready to make allowances for his mistakes and even his gravest errors; but we have deemed it no part of justice or of patriotism to forget them until they had been fully wiped out by compensating actions. We think that we here express the feelings of those Abolitionists who look on public affairs simply from an anti-slavery stand-point. They did not condemn Mr. Lincoln's endeavors to save the Union without touching slavery, for it was a necessary incident of his official duty; but they mourned the slowness of sight which failed to discern for nearly two years that it could not be done, and thus gave the gristle of rebellion time to harden into the bone of nationality, and to grow up into the most formidable of antagonists. They take Mr. Lincoln at his own account of himself and render him all the credit that he is willing to take. They rejoice that he had grace given him to choose to save alive the Nation rather than Slavery, when it became inevitable to choose between them, and they gave him full honor for it. As to his renomination and reëlection, we apprehend they hold that he has no indefeasible claim to either. They would prefer him to a worse man, but they cannot think it impossible that among all our statesmen and generals a better may not be chanced on. They are grateful to Heaven for setting the tide in the right direction, and to him for not resisting its impulse, and for bringing the Ship of State into as good a road as where she now rides. But the port is not yet gained. The most perilous part of the voyage is yet to be performed. Is it not possible that a pilot may be found with a hand strong enough and an eye clear enough to stem the heady currents of events and the opposing gales of public sentiment, and bring the Ship safe to harbor, through skill and courage, even in spite of wind and tide? But we are sure that the Abolitionists, pure and simple, would in any event condemn and resist any factious attempt to divide the Union party so as to run the risk of a Copperhead victory, which would be but another name for a rebel triumph.

In one of Mr. Phillips's speeches, alluding to an assumed want of anti-slavery support to the radical members of Congress, he said that some of them replied when urged to further action, that they did all that the Old Guard asked of them, and why should they do more? They read *The Liberator* and The Standard, and they saw nothing demanded of them beyond what they had done. Or words to that effect. Now, *The Liberator* can speak for itself, but we are bold to say that the honorable gentleman who said anything of this kind about The Standard affirmed what he knew not of. He could not have read it since the Session opened, and before, and said that it asked nothing of Congress that it had not granted or was not ready to grant. All our readers know that we have been incessant in urging upon Congress the action which lay directly before them. The Abolition of Slavery by statute, on the ground of military necessity, reinforced and made double sure by an amendment to the Constitution, the Repeal of the Fugitive Slave laws, the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau, and about the removal of the infamous injustice to the black troops. These and other topics cognate to these and to slavery we have urged and reurged, directly or incidentally, in almost every number. If Congress have not done these things, or any of them, it is not because we have not asked for them and done our best to extort them. We have no shame to take to ourselves on this score. We have not hesitated to perform the duty of observation and criticism for which we are set as to public men and public affairs. In doing this we have not had the good luck to please the two extremes of the Anti-Slavery public; but, then, we believe we have not had the misfortune to please any portion of the pro-slavery public. Those Abolitionists who regard Mr. Lincoln as the Pilot who is to weather the Storm blame us for not having been kind enough to his virtues. Those, on the other hand, who consider him the Jonah who causes the storm and who must be thrown overboard before the ship can right herself, think that we have been too lenient to his faults. So that, on the whole, we conclude that we have carried our platter tolerably even, and have maintained about the just medium. This is what we have striven to do and shall be content if we have accomplished it,

> "In moderation placing all our glory,
> While Tories call us Whigs and Whigs a Tory."

The interest which the speeches for and against the President created in the Convention was so engrossing that the only resolution which strictly touched upon practical Anti-Slavery duty was not discussed or acted upon. It was one introduced by Mr. Phillips at the opening session, in which he recited the following sentence from the leader of The Standard of May 21st: "We presume that almost all of those who have for the last twenty years stood out from political action will feel that they can use it at this juncture without covenanting with Death and agreeing with Hell"; expressing surprise at such a sentiment, and protesting against it as a violation of the Society's principle of action. We quote the substance of the resolution, not having it before us. Our readers will see that the sentence does not commit the Society to any new principle, nor even the writer of the article. It is a simple expression of opinion to what would be the course of conduct of many Abolitionists who have been long conscientiously restrained from voting, but who think they see an opening to the ballot-box made by the present state of affairs. This opinion we certainly hold. We had supposed that Abolitionists who were active in promoting the nomination of particular candidates for the Presidency could have no scruple against voting for them. If they could advise and assist in the making of a President, who must swear to support the Constitution, we imagine that they must discern some change worked by the logic of events in the quality of the oath which removed its sinfulness, so that the oath could be innocently taken and, consequently, the candidate innocently voted for. We do not affirm that this is so, but this is the inference we had inevitably drawn from these facts and the general tenor of talk of many Abolitionists, and the assertion was made in good faith. We do not say, either, whether they would be right in so doing. As the Society, of which The Standard is the organ, has not changed its ground, it would be obviously improper for us to controvert it. But, if we had the time, we could give the reasons which are urged in favor of such a change of action, for the purpose of eliciting discussion on the point. Perhaps we may take an opportunity of doing it hereafter.

THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION.

The Cleveland Presidential Convention assembled on Tuesday. From 350 to 400 delegates were present. The following States were represented: Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, Iowa, Missouri, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Wisconsin, Tennessee, Maine, Indiana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and the District of Columbia. Edward Gilbert, Esq., of New York called the Convention to order, and upon his motion, ex-Gov. Wm. F. Johnson of Pa. was appointed temporary Chairman, and Mr. Brooks of California and Mr. Wolfe of the District of Columbia temporary Secretaries. The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee on permanent organization:

Messrs. Ezra C. Andrews of Maine, Parker Pillsbury of New Hampshire, Stephen Foster of Massachusetts, A. C. Calvin of New York, William Goodell of New York, N. P. Sawyer of Pennsylvania, John T. Snerther of Maryland, Caspar Butz of Illinois, Charles E. Moss of Missouri, and L. D. Bailey of Kansas.

The various calls were read and a committee appointed to make a roll of members.

The Convention was organized as follows:

President.—Gen. John Cochrane of New York.

Vice Presidents.—James Hill of Maine, Parker Pillsbury of New Hampshire, Wm. Casey of Vermont, Edmund Tuttle of Connecticut, Rev. Henry T. Cheever of Massachusetts, Joseph Plumb of New York, Dr. L. Greiner of New Jersey, W. G. Sneithen of Maryland, Alfred G. Lloyd of Pennsylvania, Boyd B. Chapman of Ohio, Dr. Hamburg of Indiana, Ernest Prussing of Illinois, Dr. T. Olshausen of Missouri, Thomas P. Wright of Kentucky, J. P. Sliholt of Iowa, C. C. Foote of Michigan, Isaac Newstadt of Wisconsin, and J. F. Legate of Kansas.

Secretaries.—Leonard Vandercar of New York, S. Wolf of the District of Columbia, James D. Owens of Pennsylvania, and Col. Charles E. Moss of Missouri.

The Chair appointed Parker Pillsbury of New Hampshire, and Col. Moss of Missouri, to notify Gen. Cochrane of his election as President of the Convention, and escort him to the chair. The General, on taking the chair, made a speech, in which he said a good deal more about arbitrary arrests, the Monroe doctrine, right of asylum, *habeas corpus*, etc., than about slavery or the equal rights of the negro.

The Chair named the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

Thos. B. Carroll, N. Y.; K. Henison, Mass.; Francis Redman, Mo.; Bird B. Chapman, Ohio; Dennis Guiner, N. J.; L. Haskell, Cal.; Caspar Rutz, Ill.; James Dinsmore, Pa.; J. E. Hanniman, Wis.; P. Pillsbury, N. H.; L. D. Bailey, Kansas; C. C. Foote, Mich.; Charles Post, Ind.; S. Wolf, D. C.

The following resolutions were reported by the Business Committee and adopted:

First: That the Federal Union shall be preserved.

Second: That the Constitution and laws of the United States must be observed and obeyed.

Third: That the rebellion must be suppressed by force of arms, and without compromise.

Fourth: That the rights of free speech, free press and the *habeas corpus* be held inviolate, save in districts where martial law has been proclaimed.

Fifth: That the rebellion has destroyed slavery, and the Federal Constitution should be amended to prohibit its re-establishment, and to secure to all men absolute equality before the law.

Sixth: That integrity and economy are demanded at all times in the administration of the government, and that in time of war the want of them is criminal.

Seventh: That the right of asylum, except for crime and subject to law, is a recognized principle of American Liberty; that any violation of it cannot be overlooked, and must not go unrebuked.

Eighth: That the national policy known as the "Monroe Doctrine" has become a recognized principle, and that the establishment of an anti-Republican government on this continent by any foreign power cannot be tolerated.

Ninth: That the gratitude and support of the Nation is due to the faithful soldiers and the earnest leaders of the Union army and Navy for their heroic achievements and deathless valor in defense of our imperilled country and of civil liberty.

Tenth: That the one-term policy for the Presidency adopted by the people is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis, and should be maintained by constitutional amendments.

Eleventh: That the Constitution should be so amended that the President and Vice-President shall be elected by a direct vote of the people.

Twelfth: That the question of the reconstruction of the rebellious States belongs to the people, through their representatives in Congress, and not to the Executive.

Thirteenth: That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels, and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers, is a measure of justice.

A motion by William Goodell of New York, to amend the fifth resolution so as to read, "That the rebellion must be suppressed by the destruction of its motive cause, slavery," was lost after debate.

John C. Fremont was nominated for President by acclamation, and Gen. John Cochrane of New York for Vice-President.

A letter from Wendell Phillips was read to the Convention.

Dispatches from the Army of the Potomac, in the early morning of Tuesday, indicate the steady advance of Grant towards Richmond, then but seven miles distant from our most advanced wing. Warren's corps on the left was attacked by Ewell without impression, and during the engagement a forward movement was ordered along our entire line, Hancock being the first in action and gaining an important skirmish line of the enemy. Gens. Smith and Brooks have left Butler for Grant via York River, and, ere this, must have joined him.

In the House, on Tuesday, the bill for the amendment of the Constitution in favor of universal emancipation was taken up, and an objection having been made by Mr. Holman (Dem., Ind.) to its second reading, the question was upon its rejection; which was decided by yeas 55, nays 76. The slimness of this majority augurs the improbability of securing a two-thirds vote, to give effect to the Senate's. Who says that slavery is dead?

DEATH OF JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

From The Montreal Gazette, May 28.

We regret to hear of the sudden death of Mr. Joshua Reed Giddings, the United States Consul-General in Canada. He died in the billiard room of the St. Lawrence Hotel, last night, at a quarter to ten o'clock. He had played one game of billiards, and was playing another, in good spirits, at the moment he was stricken down by a disease (an affection of the nerves, operating on the heart, we believe) to which he had long been subject. A bystander reports to us that in the midst of his game he sat down and leaned forward, apparently in an insensible state. The bystanders raised him and carried him to a sofa at the side of the room, and thinking that he labored under a fit of some kind, they applied water plentifully to his face—in fact, doused his face with it. They again raised him up, and for a moment he seemed to rally and recover consciousness, but soon fell forward again insensible, and expired in about eight minutes from the time of the first attack. His medical attendant (Dr. Sutherland), we understand, was immediately sent for, but Mr. Giddings had ceased to live before he arrived. We hear that about a year ago he was severely attacked with this same disease. And it is a fact that in May, 1856, he suddenly fell down on the floor in Congress while in the act of making a speech. In January, 1858, he fell down in the same way, and was for some time supposed to be dead.

From The Tribune.

[*Extract from a private letter.*]

Canada Branch U. S. Sanitary Commission,
Montreal, May 28, 1864.

My Dear Sir: I have the sad duty to inform you of the sudden death of my dear old friend, the Hon. Joshua R. Giddings. He died last night at 10¼ o'clock, of disease of the heart, at St. Lawrence Hall. Although his death was sudden, I have been looking for it since last Saturday, the 21st. On that day Mr. Giddings sent for me about 8 in the evening, and told me he felt the end was rapidly approaching, and that he had written several letters, which he wished me to keep in my possession until after his death, and that he was convinced it was close at hand. I did all I could to encourage him and rally him from his despondency. I left him about 12 p.m. in seemingly rather better spirits. On Sunday and Monday he appeared to improve under the treatment I prescribed for him. On Wednesday he began to write an essay upon private claims (at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury) to the Hon. Mr. Washburne of the House of Congress. After he had finished he wished me to read it to him, and what struck me very forcibly was that in several places he remarked that he felt convinced that his death was close at hand. He seemed to be fully impressed with the fact of his near departure. He often said to me that he had not the least fear of death, and was prepared for the change when it would come. He said he wished to die in harness, like his old friend John Quincy Adams.

His remains were removed to his late home in Ohio.

A. M. R.

From The Evening Post.

Joshua Reed Giddings was born at Athens, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, on the 6th of October, 1795. In his infancy his parents removed to Canandaigua, in this State, and in 1805 again changed their residence to that part of Ohio now known as the County of Ashtabula. The opportunities of young Giddings for acquiring an education were limited. Day by day he was employed in severe manual labor, clearing the forest and opening the soil to cultivation, so that only his evenings could be devoted to the acquisition of the rudiments of knowledge. So great, however, was his proficiency, even under these adverse circumstances, that at the age of seventeen years he was engaged to teach the district school situated near his father's residence. Soon afterwards he enlisted into the army, and was engaged in several expeditions against the Indians.

On attaining his majority Mr. Giddings began the study of the law in the office of Elisha Whittlesey, for many years Comptroller of the Treasury at Washington; and in 1820 he was admitted to the bar. In 1826 he was elected to the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio; but declined a reëlection, and remained for twelve years in private life, devoted to his profession. In 1838 the Whigs of the Cuyahoga district made him their candidate for Congress, in place of Mr. Whittlesey, and he received a handsome majority. On taking his seat in Congress, Mr. Giddings entered at once into an active participation in the business of legislation. Sympathizing warmly with the liberal sentiments which have always characterized the inhabitants of the Western Reserve, he took an early opportunity to place himself on record as an unyielding adversary of slavery. His first oratorical effort in Congress was on the 11th of February, 1838, when, on attempting to discuss the subject of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, he was called to order by Mr. Jenifer, of Maryland, and the majority of the House voted that he should not be allowed to proceed. Two years afterward, in February, 1841, he spoke upon the Seminole war in Florida; taking the ground that it was a conflict undertaken solely for the interest of slavery.

The ensuing Autumn the Creole, an American slave trader, was on her way from Norfolk to New Orleans, with a cargo of one hundred and thirty-six slaves. The men rose against the crew, seized the vessel and sailed to the port of Nassau, where they were protected by the British authorities, then professedly anti-slavery in sympathy. Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State, required Mr. Everett, our Minister at St. James, to demand indemnity for the value of the men. The subject was laid before Congress in March, 1842.

Mr. Giddings submitted a series of resolutions to the effect that slavery, being an abridgment of natural right, could have no force beyond the territorial jurisdiction of the power that created it; that when a ship left the waters of a State, the persons on board of it ceased to be subject to the slave laws of that State, but were only under the jurisdiction of the United States, which had no power under the Constitution to hold slaves; that the men on board the Creole had violated no law of the United States, and were liable to no punishment; and that any attempt to reënslave them again was unauthorized by the Constitution and incompatible with national honor.

The result was an uproar of rage and confusion. It was first contemplated to expel him, but this was found to be impracticable. Mr. Botts, the leader of the Whigs, offered a resolution of censure, and made a furious attack upon him. A motion of Mr. Adams to table the resolution was lost. Gen. Aaron Ward then moved the previous question, so as to preclude Mr. Giddings from answering. This was carried and the resolution adopted. John McKeon and Mr. Roosevelt, of this city, voted in the negative. Wise dodged out of the House. Mr. Giddings immediately arose, left the chamber, and resigned his seat. A special election was called, and he was reëlected almost unanimously.

From that time he was more stubborn than ever in his championship of human freedom. The annexation of Texas as a measure to extend and perpetuate slavery, met his strenuous opposition. A bill to regulate trade with California was amended at his instance, in 1849, on the last night of the session, so as to strike out a provision for the slave traffic. He also made a speech declaring that man cannot be property and that the holding of him as such would be a crime. He advocated the right of our nation to the whole of Oregon, but predicted that our government would surrender to Great Britain the part which she had claimed, from fear of a war which must result in the extinction of slavery.

Finally, in 1747, he broke through his party allegiance. He had supported Gen. Harrison and Mr. Clay each twice for the Presidency; but in December, 1847, refused to vote for Robert C. Winthrop as Speaker of the House, because he was in the slaveholding interest. In 1848 he acted with the Free Democrats, though he did not vote at the Presidential election. He was to have been the Free Soil candidate for the Senate of the United States; but several Whigs in the Legislature of Ohio refusing to vote for him, Mr. Chase was finally elected by a fusion of Free Soilers and Democrats.

In 1849, Mr. Giddings, in conjunction with Preston King, David Wilmot and five others, refused to vote for any candidate for Speaker who would not organize the standing committees so as to give the subject of slavery a proper consideration; a resolution which eventuated in the defeat of Mr. Winthrop, and the election of Howell Cobb to the Speakership by the coalition of Whigs and Democrats. A conspiracy was formed to disgrace him, on the pretext of having abstracted papers from the post-office, but it failed most signally.

In 1852, the two political parties having made the compromise measures of 1850 their platform, and resolved to deprecate and resist the discussion of the subject of slavery in Congress, Mr. Giddings boldly accepted the challenge, made an anti-slavery speech, and defied Whigs and Democrats to enforce their purpose to stifle discussion.

The Ohio Legislature, at this time, having occasion to district the State anew, divided the Ashtabula district, in the hope of preventing Mr. Giddings from being again elected to Congress. It did not succeed; two Free Soilers, Mr. Giddings and Edward Wade, being elected to Congress in 1852, instead of one. In 1854, the whole Ohio delegation was elected in hostility to the Pierce Administration.

The introduction of the Nebraska bill into Congress had raised up other champions for freedom, and Mr. Giddings became less frequent, but not less earnest, in his appeals. Infirmities had begun to tell on his constitution. Several times he fell to the floor when attempting to address the House. Finally, after having served twenty-one years, his constituents nominated Mr. Hutchins for his successor. The old man regretfully acquiesced, promising to go to Washington to tell the slave lords that his district was going to send a younger and better man to succeed him.

He was a member of the Republican National Convention at Chicago, and offered a resolution declaring that governments were instituted to protect men in the enjoyment of their rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It did not carry; and he was about to withdraw, when Mr. George William Curtis offered an amendment to another resolution including this sentiment, and he remained. On the nomination being announced, he telegraphed the result to Mr. Lincoln, adding, "I have promised that you will give us an honest administration of the government."

The literary works of Mr. Giddings consist of a series of political Essays, signed "Pacificus," published in 1834; the Exiles of Florida, a valuable account of the oppression of slaveholders against the negroes, Indians and mixed bloods of Florida; and, lastly, a "History of the Authors and Causes of the Rebellion." This work, which is not yet published, though completed and already through the press, had engaged the attention of its author for four or five years past; he intended at first to give a summary history of the slavery agitation in Congress; and this purpose was only extended by the events of the last three years. In the "Prospectus"—written by himself—of this work, he says:

"The first rebellion against liberty known in the history of our race now agitates the people of the United States. This mighty conflict originated in Congress; there the causes were developed. There its authors first hinted, then avowed, their purpose of transforming the first free government of the earth into a slaveholding oligarchy. There they assailed and denied the 'self-evident' truths on which our Republican edifice had been reared. There timorous and compromising statesmen of the North tamely surrendered the rights of freemen, and permitted the slave-sustaining views to spread through the veins and arteries of political organizations in our free States, endangering the nation's life. There the issue was made up and entered upon the Congressional record. On that record the aiders and abettors of slavery and rebellion deliberately entered their names and purposes. There, too, the advocates of liberty and Christian civilization inscribed their names and doctrines.

"The work sets forth the doctrines which constituted the moral and political basis of the government. It delineates the gradual prostitution of governmental powers to the support of slavery, by legislating for the return of fugitive slaves, for establishing slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, on our Southern coast, and in our territories; the employment of our army in butchering colored persons born free; the extension of slaveholding influence by the admission of new slave States; the commencement and prosecution of two Indian wars for the benefit of slavery; and the entire prostitution of the powers of government to overthrow the doctrines which originally constituted its basis; the suppression of the constitutional freedom of debate, and the denial of the right of petition, are placed before the reader. The efforts of Miner, Adams and Slade in behalf of freedom, up to the time when the author entered Congress in 1838. From that period he gives an inside view of those scenes and incidents occurring during his terms of service as a member of Congress, which impart a thrilling interest to the history of those times. The portraits of prominent men are drawn with a truthful pen. The memorable trial and triumph of Mr. Adams; the author's arraignment, censure, resignation, and reëntrance into Congress; the fatal policy of annexing Texas; the corrupt manner in which a vast territory, free under Mexican laws, was surrendered to Texan slavery; and the more unblushing depravity by which the people of the free States were compelled by Congress to pay the debts of Texas, are brought to view. The important defeat of the Slave Power in its efforts to establish slavery in California, in the annexation of Cuba, and in attempts to carry its despotism into Kansas, are stated. The civil war in Kansas, the secession of several States, and the commencement of the great rebellion of 1861, are given; and the work concludes with the proclamation of Emancipation of January, 1863, when the conflict became literally a second war for the rights of human nature."

Mr. Giddings's history makes an octavo volume of 500 pages. It will be published in a few days by Follett, Foster & Co., of this city.

In 1861, Mr. Giddings was appointed Consul-General to Canada; like his former friend John Quincy Adams, he died at his post. He foresaw this struggle of the nation; he has not lived to witness its consummation. He died as he lived—honest, bold and strenuous in the maintenance of his convictions.

AMEND THE CONSTITUTION.

The Women's National League have just sent out, all through the States, fifteen thousand Petitions, with an appeal to have them filled up and returned as speedily as possible.

The Bill to amend the Constitution so as to prohibit the holding of slaves in any part of the country has passed the Senate. Now comes the struggle in the House. If every one of the fifteen thousand persons—at least ten thousand of them ministers—will but gather up one hundred or more names, A MILLION-VOICED PETITION may yet pour into the Representatives' Hall; and such a voice from THE PEOPLE cannot but make sure the vote, and leave the Bill ready for the President's signature, and Congress disposed to recommend that a special session of each State Legislature be called immediately to act upon the question; and thus the hateful thing, Slavery, be buried out of sight before the opening of the Presidential campaign.

Let the petitions be mailed to Washington, direct, to some member, or to Hon. Thos. D. Eliot, Chairman of Committee on Slavery and Freedmen. *There is not a day to be lost.* Let all work.

☞ Form of Petition now sent out by the Women's League:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of ———— believing Slavery the great cause of the present rebellion, and an institution fatal to the life of Republican government, earnestly pray your honorable bodies to immediately abolish it throughout the United States; and to adopt measures for so amending the Constitution as forever to prohibit its existence in any portion of our common country.

Proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society at its Third Decade [thirty years from its formation], held in the city of Philadelphia, Dec. 3d and 4th, 1863, with an appendix, and a Catalogue of Anti-Slavery Publications in America, from 1750 to 1863. An octavo pamphlet, of 175 pages. Just published, and for sale at the Anti-Slavery offices, 48 Beekman st., New York; 106 North Tenth st., Philadelphia; and 221 Washington st., Boston. Price, *Fifty Cents.* On receipt of this sum, a copy will be sent, postage prepaid, to any given address.

The managers of the Young Men's Association of Albany recently refused admission to their lectures to all persons not of the most approved color; and were recently sustained therein by reëlection, by means of most questionable voting and counting. They then applied to the Hon. Charles Sumner to deliver one of their lectures, and were answered as follows:

Senate Chamber, April 16, 1864.

Sir: You invite me to deliver an address on Lafayette before the Young Men's Association of Albany. In view of a recent incident in the history of your Association, I am astonished at the request.

I cannot consent to speak of Lafayette, who was not ashamed to fight beside a black soldier, to an audience too delicate to sit beside a black citizen. I cannot speak of Lafayette, who was a friend of universal liberty, under the auspices of a Society which makes itself the champion of caste and vulgar prejudice.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

Charles Sumner.

C. W. Davis, Esq., Cor. Sec., etc., Albany.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, May 30th, 1864.

Anniversary week has come and gone again, with its usual accompaniments of East wind and rain, muddy streets, and immense crowds of people. Men and women use without stint their privilege of complaining of the weather, but at this exciting period they show a thorough practical disregard of it. Even ladies ordinarily most fastidious about exposure to dirty dampness lose their timidity on this occasion, and resolutely trail their long robes through thick mud and thin, with results which would drive even good-natured Anthony Trollope mad (in both senses) if he were obliged to sit next them in the crowded church, or ride home with them in the crowded omnibus or rail-car. But all this is finished for another year; and, as usual, a lovely serenity of weather appeared at the end of the week, enabling Boston to speed her parting friends.

There was much excellent fun going on in various quarters during the multifarious exercises of Holy Week. I wish I had space to tell you of the mirth provoking incidents which occurred even in the meeting of that serious family which calls itself "The New England Branch of the American (New York) Tract Society." Progress ruthlessly sweeps the skirts of those ancient incorrigibles, and even their own familiar friends, in whom they trusted, who had just eaten of their bread, and been selected beforehand as fit exponents of their old fogyism—even their advertised speakers, Rev. J. T. Duryea of your city and Rev. William A. Benedict, from the Army of the Potomac—felt obliged to speak discourteous and damaging words of the great institution of slavery. It was a grief, no doubt, to the righteous souls of most members of that afflicted Association to hear their idol thus irreverently spoken of in his own temple; but who shall paint the emotions of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who had given a complimentary introduction to these audacious innovators, and of Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams, who had been appropriately selected to do the praying of the occasion, and whose supplications are always made for grace to walk in the old paths. Their feelings must have been beyond expression.

There were points of attraction in various of the Anniversary meetings, but my particular inclination (as well as the idea that you might reasonably expect a letter thereanent) led me to the New England Anti-Slavery Convention; and the various excitements and attractions of its platform well repaid my attendance through all the sessions of its two days' meeting.

The Tremont Temple had been engaged a year in advance for Friday, the 27th instant. But when, on the near approach of the celebration, it was found desirable to occupy two days, and commence the meeting on Thursday, the best place attainable was the smaller hall of the same building, the Meionaon, which will seat only eight hundred people. This was densely crowded in advance of the hour appointed, and hundreds went away unable to gain admittance. The attendance was very large at every session in both halls, and a vivid interest, deepening at times to strong excitement, pervaded the meetings throughout. There was no lack of speakers, nor of speaking, nor of topics interesting alike to orator and audience. You may judge that we had a rich feast of eloquence by the bare enumeration of *some* of those who took part in the proceedings, namely, our distinguished English friend, George Thompson, Messrs. Quincy, Garrison, Phillips and May, of this city, Stephen S. and Abby K. Foster from Worcester, Parker Pillsbury from New Hampshire, Charles C. Burleigh from Connecticut, Aaron M. Powell from New York, and Lieut.-Col. Billings of the First South Carolina Colored Regiment.

The name of Mr. Thompson in the advertisements was of course a very great attraction, and many, no doubt, looked to his addresses as their chief expected interest in the meetings. As soon as the preliminaries of business were finished in the opening session, loud calls were made for Mr. Thompson. Indisposition, however, which had already prevented him from accepting an invitation to a public breakfast that morning, obliged him to excuse himself for the time, and in fact he did not speak until the second day. The names of other speakers were then called by individuals in the audience. But the President, Mr. Quincy, judiciously suggested the preferableness of allowing each speaker to choose his own time as well as topic, and we had thenceforth, until the end of the closing session, but little disturbance from the rudeness in question.

In the absence of early suggestion from the Business Committee as to the subjects specially demanding discussion, a series of resolutions on public affairs was presented in the opening meeting by Parker Pillsbury, and formed the chief subject of debate through all the sessions.

It soon became manifest that two views divided the speakers and the audience, and divided them not very unequally in point of numbers. This difference consisted in opposite judgments of the character and policy of the present Administration at Washington, of the meaning and purpose of the Executive in regard to what status of the freedmen should be substituted for that enslavement which the war is abolishing, and therefore, of the advantage or disadvantage of favoring a reëlection of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency in November next.

The varying views to which this difference of opinion gave rise were expressed with great freedom and energy by both parties. Portions of the daily press took the opportunity, as they have often done before, to declare the existence of a split between the Abolitionists. In their case, the wish was father to the thought. But some who ought not to have been in doubt had fears upon this point, for want of noticing that the difference in question was in respect to measures, not principles; to the best means of securing justice and freedom, not at all to any disregard or relinquishment of justice and freedom themselves. The very names of the persons thus ranged on opposite sides in regard to the suitableness of certain measures to promote the common end are our ample warrant for the hearty devotion of both classes to the cause of freedom, and the thorough determination of both to uphold the rights and interests of the oppressed. When we see Garrison, Thompson, May and Wright affirming, and Phillips, Pillsbury, Burleigh and Powell denying, the sufficiency of certain means for certain ends, it is absurd and preposterous thence to conclude a divergence of one of these parties from sound principle, or a diminution of the devotion which they have always alike displayed to the maintenance of human rights and universal freedom. Without a doubt, they see eye to eye in regard to the great object of the anti-slavery movement. In regard to the present details of action best fitted to accomplish that final result, they differ, as faithful men always have done and always will do, to the end of time.

An intense interest in the audience, and increasing warmth of feeling in the debaters, naturally produced great energy of expression. As the controversy went on, it must be admitted that some on each side allowed themselves to put their criticism of the other side into an unduly, needlessly and unjustifiably offensive form.

The excitement, alike of speakers and audience, culminated at the closing session. The eloquence there displayed was beyond the ordinary experience even of Abolitionists, who hear every year, and several times a year, the equals of Cicero and Demosthenes. On this occasion the greatest skill of each speaker was shown. Mr. Thompson, especially, displayed the full vigor of that powerful oratory which was our wonder and delight, and the terror of slaveholders and colonizationists, in 1835. I had not until then heard from him, during his present visit to this country, any parallel to the tremendous *power* which his speeches displayed at that early period of our struggle. But I bore in mind that the later speeches which I had chanced to hear, being replies to formal addresses of congratulation, were not a fair test of Mr. Thompson's peculiar powers, the full vigor of which would be likely to appear only under the stimulus of controversy. The necessary conditions were supplied in this meeting, where he had opponents to encounter as well as a cause to defend. Richard was himself again, and those who had come to hear the great English orator were amply gratified.

The debate continued until 11 p.m. So intense was the interest felt in the controversy, and in the votes which were to follow, that a large portion of the audience staid beyond that uncustomary hour. The last speaker was Charles C. Burleigh, whom some persons in the gallery undertook to clamor down; but the firm persistency of that *vieux moustache* proved too much for them, for he stood his ground until they kept perfect silence, and then the vote was taken.

The first question was on the motion of Mr. Garrison that some resolutions offered by him should be substituted for Mr. Pillsbury's. Mr. Pillsbury had said (when this motion was made in a previous stage of the meeting) that, however worthy of adoption Mr. Garrison's resolutions might be, he saw no propriety in offering them as a *substitute* for his, since the scope and purport of the two were entirely different. Others took the same view, and, the vote being taken by voice, as usual, the President declared it decided in the negative. The vote was large on both sides, and the decision of the chair was doubted. But, on a show of hands being called for, and time taken to count them, that decision was sustained.

The next question was on the adoption of Mr. Pillsbury's resolutions. The vote again was large on both sides. The chair declared it settled affirmatively, and, this again being doubted, a second trial again confirmed it. Mr. Phillips then suggested that, by the omission or change of some phrases in Mr. Garrison's resolutions, they also might be adopted by the same persons who had voted for Mr. Pillsbury's. Mr. Garrison consented to these modifications, and his resolutions were adopted by a vote almost unanimous. The Convention then adjourned.

North.

Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, May 29, 1864.

According to a letter-writer Mr. Lincoln deprecates criticism of his Administration. To a delegation of Western gentlemen, who came to complain of some things, he replied that if Blondin had a bag of gold upon his shoulders and was about to cross Niagara River, the owner of the gold would not ply him with instructions all the while he was crossing, but would hold his tongue till the transit was safely performed. The illustration had some force in it, but it is not a truthful one. Suppose Blondin were to attempt to cross Niagara upon a cotton string with my gold upon his back, or if he were to stop midway in the stream to dance—should I not protest against his temerity? So with this Administration. If it makes great blunders, if it lacks energy, lacks moral courage—is it not the duty of the patriot to speak out? I heard the charge made a few days ago, by an intelligent public man, that Mr. Lincoln was to-day more anxious about the Baltimore Convention than the war. *I don't believe the charge to be justifiable*—the statement is false. But suppose it were true—is the loyal spectator to "hold his tongue"? In some respects the President has terribly blundered. After all the lessons of the past, here he is arranging for another draft *in midsummer*! Just as the farmers are in their hay and wheat fields, he is preparing to draft them into the army. Why, in the name of common sense, could he not have made his draft large enough last Winter? It *looks as* if he eased off the draft because he was afraid of the Spring elections. This has been openly charged by the enemies of the Administration. A little more vigor is necessary in the Administration, or the war will end disastrously. I am willing to put this upon record and abide the result. I say it not as an enemy, but as a friend to Mr. Lincoln and his Administration. I have no more doubt of his nomination at Baltimore than I have that the world will continue to exist for a fortnight longer. Abraham Lincoln is to be our next President—or a Copperhead will beat him. It is possible that a bad campaign may enable the Opposition to triumph with Gen. McClellan as a candidate, but I doubt it. Mr. Lincoln will probably triumph even over a bad campaign. But it is necessary that he should act with more vigor, that he should cease to heed the counsels of timid men, of pro-slavery men. For though Mr. Lincoln may be reëlected, if the campaign is a failure, the further prosecution of the war will be up-hill work. I know that it is the fashion to say that the war can be and will be carried on for twenty years. The men who say it are mad. Ask Mr. Chase how long *he* thinks it possible to carry on this war. The expenses are a thousand million a year, and they cannot be endured much longer. Therefore, the rebellion should be crushed *at once*. If Mr. Lincoln had raised 200,000 more troops *last Winter*, instead of trying to raise them now, he would have put the rebellion down. There is no doubt about it, and it is a blunder that is next to a crime. If 100,000 had then been raised, it would probably have made the result certain and speedy. Three hundred thousand in September will not be worth as much as one hundred thousand would be now.

The general opinion among sensible people here is, that Mr. Stanton blundered in suppressing *The World* and *Journal of Commerce* newspapers. There was no real justification for it. No one doubts Mr. Stanton's motives, but he is rash sometimes. If the people of the State of New York will stand by the Administration, however, all will be well. If, as a consequence of these imprudent acts, the State should be thrown into the hands of the Peace Democrats, it would be a miserable operation—nothing gained by the despotic acts and almost everything lost. I am glad to see that nearly all the Republican journals refuse to defend Mr. Stanton.

The Senate has been extremely busy in debating and voting upon the various sections of the Tax bill during the past week. There is a growing disposition in the Senate to tax whiskey that is held by speculators and others. Senator Sherman, in the course of the debate, spoke as follows:

"If the Senate determine that they will not tax the article on hand, I think the rate fixed by the House of Representatives on the future manufacture is sufficient, and as much as can be reasonably levied. I do not believe you will get $50,000 for the coming fiscal year as the result of your tax on spirits manufactured in the future unless you put a tax upon the spirits on hand. Under the operation of section fifty-four the manufacture will entirely cease, I think, for one year. The stock on hand is now so large that I do not believe the distilleries will run all the next Winter at $1.50 a gallon. That is my judgment.

"We have all been deceived in regard to the stock on hand from the very beginning of this controversy. We have never estimated it at one-third the real amount. I have myself been deceived. We were told when the subject was first considered in the Senate that there was but sixty days' stock on hand; but the actual result showed that more than six months transpired before any was manufactured. Even when the tax was only twenty cents a gallon the stock on hand was equivalent to six months' supply. Nor was that all, because the old stock was not half exhausted before they commenced manufacturing at the twenty cents tax. I have seen various estimates made in regard to the stock on hand, ranging from forty to one hundred million gallons. The very highest amount that has ever been manufactured in this country in any one year is eighty million; and I believe that there is fully one year's stock on hand, though it is very difficult to arrive at that, because there is no exact basis of estimate; we cannot tell how much is stored away."

If Congress raises the tax fifty cents, it puts millions of dollars into the hands of the whiskey-speculators, and not a dollar into the Treasury of the United States for at least a year to come. Perhaps this result cannot be avoided, but it is unfortunate if it cannot. The disposition in Congress to tax whiskey on hand is growing stronger each day. It is apparent to all sagacious people that higher taxes must be imposed, higher duties, and that Congress must stop increasing salaries, stop making unnecessary appropriations. The Senate, with that spirit of reckless extravagance which has always characterized it, raised the pay of Collectors from $4,000 to $5,000—that is, it puts the limit at $5,000 when the limit at present is $4,000. Senator Grimes very properly opposed this, and also the proposition to increase the salaries of Assessors. The people are willing to be taxed, but if there is anything that will make them dissatisfied, if there is anything that will make them listen with complacency to demagogues hereafter who may talk of national repudiation, it will be the fact that Congress recklessly votes away the revenues of the nation, and not only creates a host of salaried officials, but gives enormous salaries to them. The utmost economy in the public expenditures is absolutely necessary, and the Senator or Representative who gives a reckless vote in this respect aids the rebellion by disheartening the people.

There is little to say upon the military situation, for everything depends upon the next battle with Lee. The losses of the previous battles of the campaign will foot up fully 35,000, and probably 40,000. Lee is making an immense effort to concentrate a very large force against Grant, and he may possibly succeed in repulsing him. It is not wise to be too confident, and yet there is no cause for despondency. If one may judge by the price of gold, there is a lack of confidence in Grant's ability to whip Lee. I hear of one or two members of the Cabinet who are talking in a somewhat despondent manner, but the majority are in fine spirits, and feel certain that Gen. Grant will triumph at last—that the Summer campaign will be a success. The

President especially is hopeful, and he is not like Mr Seward, naturally of a very sanguine temperament. Common sense is his strong point, and he believes Gen. Grant will win the campaign.

Dr. Cheever has been in Washington two or three days, and preached this morning in the Hall of Representatives. I need not say to your readers that he acquitted himself nobly, for he always does that. He is a good deal in advance of the President and the Administration upon the slavery question, but a large number of the Republican members of Congress agree with him in his views and have extended a cordial welcome to him.

Politics are "dull." Everybody concedes Mr. Lincoln's nomination at Baltimore, and I suppose I may safely add—his election. A good deal, however, depends upon the Summer campaign. AVON.

THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

THE New England Anti-Slavery Convention assembled on Thursday morning, May 26th, in the Meionaon, the smaller hall of the Tremont Temple, which was densely filled at the time of opening the meeting, in spite of the customary easterly storm.

The meeting was called to order by SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

On motion of Mr. DRAPER, of Milford, a Committee of five was appointed by the Chair, to report a list of officers for the Convention as follows:

E. D. Draper, of Milford; Benj. Snow, Jr., of Fitchburg; Joseph Merrill, of Danvers; Parker Pillsbury, of Concord; Elbridge Sprague, of Abington.

Mr. MAY expressed his regret at the very limited space of the hall; the largest, however, that could be obtained for to-day's meeting.

The Committee on Nominations reported the following as the organization of the Convention:

President.—EDMUND QUINCY, of Massachusetts.

Vice-Presidents.—BOURNE SPOONER, Plymouth, Mass.; JOHN T. SARGENT, Boston, Mass.; MRS. ANNA T. DRAPER, Milford, Mass.; ASA FAIRBANKS, Rhode Island; CLARK GREENMAN, Connecticut; JAMES HUTCHINSON, Jr., Vermont; JEHIEL CLAFLIN, New Hampshire.

Secretaries.—CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, Boston, Mass; AARON M. POWELL, of Ghent, N. Y.

Finance Committee.—Elbridge Sprague, Joseph Merrill, Ebenezer D. Draper, Joshua T. Everett.

This list of officers was chosen by the Convention, and Mr. QUINCY took the chair.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., made a few introductory remarks, respecting the Anti-Slavery associations which unite in this Convention, and the agencies employed in their work, and urging an active continuance in the labors appropriate to the cause.

In concluding his statement, Mr. May said, in former years there was only *one* New England Anti-Slavery Convention held here during anniversary week. That I need not say, was the Convention of the old Abolitionists. All the other great meetings of the week, of all the various sects, orthodox or heretic, alike disowned this great cause of justice, humanity, and freedom—passing it by in haughty silence and indifference, or fulminating charges of infidelity and treason against it. But now, sir, we are only one of *several* New England Anti-Slavery Conventions held in this city this week. Nearly every meeting of any considerable numbers or interest, held this week, rejoices to declare itself in favor of the oppressed slave, and of his immediate emancipation. Do we regret this, sir? Shall we be sorry when, as Abolitionists, our "occupation is gone," altogether? No, indeed! But we shall most fervently rejoice, and give thanks to Him, who, in this great and holy work, ever has been with us, as our Captain. Meantime, let us view these meetings of to-day and to-morrow as only the closing ones of one long *New England Anti-Slavery Convention*, extending through the week, and to be thereby refreshed for further service, until slavery is entirely dead and buried.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON wished to speak very briefly. He had feared that, in such unpropitious weather, the meeting would be thin this morning. The numbers assembled show how active, and vital, and increasing is the interest felt in the cause here represented. Mr. Garrison proposed that, in view of the numbers probably desirous to speak, the time of speakers at the day sessions be limited to twenty minutes. A vote to that effect was passed.

The PRESIDENT announcing that addresses to the meeting were then in order,—

GEORGE THOMPSON was called for by many voices. In a few words, Mr. T. excused himself from speaking this morning, on the ground of indisposition, which had already obliged him to decline an invitation to the public breakfast of the Tract Society.

Mr. W. R. COLE said he came from the State of Iowa, whose soldiers took the field for the purpose of liberating the slave, and whose people would sustain the government as long as it labored for the slave, and no longer. He wished to say a practical word in favor of his brother the negro. The freedmen find great difficulty in obtaining employment in their new position, and those who had wished their release from slavery should now make vigorous efforts to give them needful aid in gaining an honest living. Instances of friendly conduct to the negro, and others of the old brutal prejudice still continuing against him, were mentioned. He somewhat suspected the anti-slavery professions of those who did not allow their colored laborers to eat with them at their tables.

Rev. DAVID THURSTON of Maine (the first signer of the Anti-Slavery Declaration of Sentiments, at Philadelphia, in 1833) next addressed the meeting. He had preached three sermons against the sin of slavery even before that Declaration was written; and in looking over those discourses recently, he had found the statement that slavery, if not put away, would assuredly involve us in strife and war.

He wished to repeat the testimony which he had often given against the wicked and deep-rooted spirit of *caste*, still so prevalent in this land. The eradication of this, he believed, would be even more difficult than the abolition of slavery.

Mrs. C. H. DALL did not expect to speak; but a woman's word may be timely. The customs of society are to be kept in mind, to some extent; and she objected to any rule being laid down for the social treatment of colored people different from that of white people. Colored people should neither be called into our social and domestic circles, nor excluded from them, on any different principle or rule from those which governed us in our treatment of white persons in like situations and circumstances. She illustrated her remarks in an interesting manner. She urged that every possible influence and help, to elevate themselves to a condition of admission to any place, should be faithfully and steadily held out to the colored people of the land.

S. S. FOSTER regretted the limitation of the twenty minutes rule. This he regarded as the most important meeting he ever attended. We are not here to end the rebellion, but to end slavery. The rebellion should not end till the black is the political equal of the white. What then is our present duty? We began with the purpose to secure immediate, unconditional abolition. Everything opposed to it must be removed, be it Church, party, or government. We found the Church against the slave, and we were compelled to leave the Church. We found the government false to the slave, and had to separate ourselves from it. We have, for twenty years, warned our fellow-countrymen to vote for no one not unqualifiedly committed to the principles of immediate emancipation and full justice. We were asked by Mr. Sumner and other good men to vote for the best of two parties, but we could not vote for the least of two compromisers. Did we then teach correctly? If not, we should acknowledge our error; if we did, we should adhere. He believed the first duty to push the present Administration to a higher level—next, to prepare to have it succeeded by a better. He was opposed to reinstating Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln confessedly has no sympathy with our cause. He has freed no slave save by necessity. Mr. F. commented upon the Hodges letter. Mr. Lincoln had returned ten slaves where any of his predecessors—Van Buren or Buchanan—had returned one.

Mr. MAY made some remarks on the advantage and necessity of a limitary rule for speakers; and of the fact, that Mr. Foster himself had proposed and advocated such on a recent occasion.

Mr. PILLSBURY made objections to the limitation, and protested against favoritism in the allowance of speakers.

Mr. GARRISON vindicated the rule as expedient for the day-sessions. He did not rise to reply to Mr. Foster's speech, but was moved to speak of the immense contrast (brought to his mind by the appearance of his venerable friend Rev. Mr. Thurston) between the prevalent sentiments existing in 1833, when he first met him in the Anti-Slavery Convention in Philadelphia, and at the present moment. He declared himself now, as heretofore, a man of peace, a non-resistant. In spite of the war, we have never had so much of peace in this country as now; never so much wealth; never so much unity; never so little national debt; because we have never had so much liberty.

Slavery knew that its fate was sealed when Abraham Lincoln was chosen. Every rebel detests him. Every pro-slavery man reviles him. There is then no doubt in my mind where my sympathies shall go in this matter. As to the President doing nothing for the negro *as the negro*, I submit that he must be judged by the circumstances and necessities of his position. He is chosen according to the Constitution, and under the limits of the Constitution. This contest *does* mean—Liberty on one hand and Slavery on the other, and we should recognize that fact, without demanding too much of the individual combatants or leaders.

C. C. BURLEIGH agreed that the nation was never so little in debt. Its great debt was to the bondmen. It has begun to discharge that debt. Until recently, the debt has accumulated with the hope of repudiation; but repudiation only adds damages to interest. He agreed with a previous speaker that more fugitives had been returned, under the administration of Mr. Lincoln, than under any previous one; the opportunity and the occasion have been greater. He had been ready to do all for slavery that the usual interpretation of the Constitution required. He issued the Proclamation of Emancipation, and sent a Provisional Governor to Tennessee, and thereby confessed the old Constitution to be abrogated. But he had held back from his anti-slavery opportunities. He had not done his duty. He (Mr. B.) did not want, in an emergency like the present, a pilot who would, to use his own word, allow the Ship of State to "drift." He was honest, but only as politicians are honest. He may be most available; I leave that for politicians to determine; if it be true, I am sorry it is so.

Mrs. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER said—We hear about Abraham Lincoln's going to the extent of his constitutional obligations to put down slavery. But it may fairly be asked—Has he gone to the extent of his constitutional obligations to put down the rebellion? Seeing clearly that interference with slavery was the strongest instrument to oppose to the rebellion, he has used as little of that agency as possible. He preferred to shed the blood of loyal white men, rather than to free the slaves of the Border States. Let us never talk, on the anti-slavery platform, of the duty of judging men by their position, rather than by the claims of principle and righteousness.

HENRY C. WRIGHT read passages of Abraham Lincoln's writings in his defence against charges that have been made here against him. Several of the expressions read called forth applause from the audience.

He also read an extract of the proclamation of Jan. 1, 1863, declaring free the slaves in the rebel States, and promising the protection of the government to them.

Judge him, said Mr. W., by his words and acts; criticize as you may deem necessary; remember he was bound to go by his own judgment, not Mr. Garrison's, or Mr. Phillips's, or Mr. Foster's, or mine. He could not, as President, emancipate a single slave on the ground of justice. He was elected to preserve the nation, not primarily to abolish slavery; and he must respect the oath he had taken.

WENDELL PHILLIPS said he had a resolution to read as follows:

Resolved, That we have read with unfeigned surprise in the editorial columns of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD of May 21st, the following: "We presume that almost all of those who have for the last twenty years stood out from political action will feel that they can use it at this juncture without covenanting with Death and agreeing with Hell"; and remembering that no member of the American Society has, *as such*, ever abstained from any kind of political action except voting, and that only because of the pro-slavery character of the United States Constitution, we are utterly ignorant how, that Constitution remaining to this day unchanged, any member who has for that reason abstained from voting can consistently do so.

He then proceeded to say—

I wish now to take as a text for a moment the opening sentence of the letter of Abraham Lincoln read by Mr. Wright.

He says he never knew what it was not to think slavery wrong. Yet, as a member of Congress, he added a pro-slavery clause to the bill offered by Mason, of Virginia, for the rendition of fugitive slaves. I make these two points:

His anti-slavery belief has been consistent with his voluntary service of slavery, whenever it was brought into peril.

He touched slavery only when it was indispensably necessary, and when he had exhausted every other possible method.

These are exactly the reasons why I oppose his re-election.

The rebellion broke out in 1861. Military necessity authorized him, from the moment he saw it would be an efficient weapon in the war, to attack slavery. The rebellion might perhaps be subdued, without touching Richmond; without infringing on the liberty of the press; without interfering with commerce. He assails all those points and many others, as soon as he sees the advantage of it. Bnt he touches slavery only when everything else has failed. In thirty days, he crushes *habeas corpus*. He imprisons individuals. He suppresses newspapers.

But he touches slavery only after trying every other possible resource. It was obvious that an assault on slavery was the readiest, the most thorough, the most deadly weapon against slavery. Slavery had heretofore been only a tolerated nuisance. Lincoln has regarded and treated it as sacred.

Congress passed a law that negroes shall be employed as soldiers. Obviously, since the contrary is not expressed, the negro is to be treated like other soldiers. Lincoln does not see it. Only after nine months delay, involving great suffering to the families of those soldiers does he ask the Attorney-General's opinion of the meaning of that statute. Why did he not ask it before?

He refuses the suffrage to the colored men of Louisiana when Bertonneau asks it. Why did he refuse? It would offend Gov. Bramlette. It would injure the Kentucky interest.

Mr. GARRISON said he could best refute Mr. Phillips's speech by quoting his own eulogistic words of Mr. Lincoln. How can he reconcile these? Mr. Garrison proceeded to read and comment upon a recent speech of Mr. Phillips.

We ought to remember the condition of the country when Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated. The large Democratic minority threatened, and manifold dangers beset him on every hand. He has been in the midst of great opposition, as if upon a volcano. If any man ever deserved sympathy, it is Mr. Lincoln. I think that Mr. Lincoln ought not, in his Proclamation, to have exempted slavery anywhere; but he went as far as he thought the Constitution would justify him in going. Now, all of slavery should be included. I have signed petitions for the abolition of all slavery, for there is now the constitutional power to do it. The covenant with slavery is annulled. I am not here to justify all Mr. Lincoln's acts; far from it. I could criticize him freely; I have done so. But now is not the time for the usual Presidential electioneering. One who has given us such a series of anti-slavery measures as Mr. Lincoln has, is, on the whole, well deserving to continue in office for another term.

WENDELL PHILLIPS said—Mr. Garrison acknowledges that Abraham Lincoln is not clear-sighted. [Mr. GARRISON—I meant, not as clear-sighted as *I* am! (Laughter.) But he must see with his own eyes.] That is my objection to him. The American nation never stood in such peril as it does to-day. Mr. Lincoln is honest as I have said, Kentucky-honest; but we need a man who both means well and sees well. I said to the President, a year ago. The man who will *execute* the Proclamation should be our next President. For want either of clear insight or good meaning, the policy of that document has not been thoroughly carried out. But this is the very point most vital to our success.

The President wants abolition, in a certain sense, but he is not willing to use the means for it.

Why does he keep Blair in the possession of such power and patronage, all given to the support of slavery?

Three years of the Administration have given us the means of judging it. The President told me that Banks was a failure. Now, sixteen months after, he still remains.

The President steadily refrains from doing anti slavery work; and the reason is, because he doesn't want it done.

Mr. Lincoln is honest, after a certain sort. But in his later career, Thurlow Weed has shaken in his eyes the glittering bauble of the next Presidency. He looks to the conservative part of the nation for his election. He interferes with slavery, even now, just as little as he possibly can.

The letter which Mr. Wright has read is one of the most mournful ever written. It says to the negro, you owe me no gratitude. I have done nothing intending your interest. I have acted only on military necessity.

The only sound basis for the reconstruction of this nation is black citizenship. Mr. Lincoln resists and opposes it. To do this work, I want a Butler and a Fremont.

I will be bolder than Mr. Garrison. In this hour we ought to and we may prejudge the future.

Mr. LANGET said he had fought for $11 per month, having been with the First Massachusetts regiment from the beginning of the war. Would Mr. Phillips do as much? He spoke in defence of Mr. Lincoln; he didn't vote for Mr. Lincoln, having been doubtful of him on anti-slavery grounds, but confident fully in him now. As was said in Tremont Temple, the other evening, by a young chaplain of the Christian Commission, when Boston's peerless orator goes down upon his knees to ask counsel of God, as President Lincoln habitually does, then may the former properly criticize the latter.

S. MAY, Jr., said that, since that remark of Mr. Duryea had been repeated in this Convention, he desired to say, for himself, that he regarded it as a piece of impertinent cant. It was of a peace with the talk, which we had so long been accustomed to hear of all the pro-slavery and slave-hunting Presidents, whose praying, Bible-reading and Sabbath-keeping habits had always been cantingly paraded as an offset for their acts of servility to slavery. And what right had Mr. Duryea to tell his audience, as he virtually did, that Mr. Phillips lived and labored without God in his great work? If there lives a man whose whole life should teach even the narrowest bigot a better lesson than that, that man is Mr. Phillips.

Adjourned to quarter before 3.

Afternoon Session.

Mr. SARGENT, one of the Vice-Presidents, called the meeting to order, and introduced to the audience

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN—Mr. Brown hoped the interest manifested in Presidential candidates would not prevent continued action for our peculiar work, the abolition of slavery. The old work of bringing the right and wrong of slavery before the hearts and consciences of men needs to be done now as much as ever. He was pleased with the remarks of Mrs. Dall in the morning. The blacks ask only their liberty, and the opportunity of acting and working for themselves. This was all that he and his brethren asked of the people of this nation. He spoke of the much that remains to be done in the Southern country, where the blacks have nothing more than the little that the Proclamation has done for them; their chains have been removed, it is true, but there is no recognition of their rights, and no fair chance for them to gain their own subsistence. Wherever such is given them, they will be able to take care of themselves. And the part of this Society is to plead their cause until they gain this opportunity.

We have heard much debate respecting Mr. Lincoln. I enter but little into it. The colored people of the country rejoice in what Mr. Lincoln has done for them, but they all wish that Gen. Fremont had been in his place. And Gen. Butler (having larger opportunity) has done far more than Fremont. He treated black men just as he treated other men, and that is what black men want. They want justice. And those who are disposed to do justice to all, are the best persons to manage the present affairs of this country.

PARKER PILLSBURY introduced the following resolutions:

[By some mistake of the Secretaries, the resolutions of Mr. Pillsbury have not been handed to us, and, therefore, we are unable to print them in this connection.]

Rev. Mr. CALTHROP, of England, had taken deep interest in the debate of the morning. As a comparison of views, it was good. If a prelude to a division of the anti-slavery forces of the country, he must say, God forbid! We know the friendship betwen Wendell Phillips and Mr. Garrison will not be broken; may the anti-slavery movement not be broken by them! The people now are inquiring of the great anti slavery idea. We should be ready to suggest practical measures, that the inquiring nation may be saved. He thought that two errors had been committed by Abolitionists at the outset. The first, that they had too much committed themselves to non-resistance. All begin to see that some wars are righteous methods in God's Providence. John Brown opened many eyes. He would encourage every man to go and strike a blow against oppression by the bayonet. The second error was uniting abolition and disunion.

Acknowledgment of these errors should be made. Let us see to it that there be no scatteration policy among the friends of freedom. Let them speak freely, but not separate; like the noble Gen. Rice, when dying, let us have our face turned to the enemy.

The Finance Committee were instructed to take collections of contributions for the expenses of the Convention.

Rev. SAMUEL MAY, Jr., suggested the need of attention to the Financial question, and gave notice that the Financial Committee would now pass round to receive the contributions of the audience.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH said—Our friend from England, the last speaker, has told us of two mistakes made (as he thinks) by the Abolitionists. On the other hand, they have taken two most important precautions for the success of their enterprise. First, though not taking the specific ground of Non-Resistance, they determined, in laboring for the slave, to use only moral means, and decline the use of physical force. Next, they chose to show a practical consistency with their view of the pro-slavery character of the Constitution, and refused to employ political servants to act under the vicious provisions of that Constitution; that is to say, they refused to vote for government officers. In these two particulars they showed their belief in and their reliance on sound principle.

Rev. EDWIN THOMPSON thought Abolitionists did well to accept principles; but Mr. Calthrop was mistaken in thinking that any considerable number of Abolitionists had ever been non-resistants.

God had raised up witnesses to appeal to slaveholders for their conversion. There had been continual differences and free discussion. We could listen to differences without being disturbed. The work would go on. Abolitionists did not have it all to do, though having a leading responsibility. John A. Andrew, Charles Sumner, Joshua R. Giddings, John Q. Adams, were helpers. The power of God is in the cause; but we are not yet a repentant people. We have interfered with slavery only as a "military necessity." We need to contribute largely to continue the moral agitation of the question. All men should be free and as brethren. God has made of one blood all nations of men. Garrison's name will live—those who mobbed him will be forgotten. Let us go forward in our work till there shall be no slave left in his chains.

Rev. JEHIEL CLAFLIN said—We don't ask on the Anti-Slavery platform what a man's religious or political belief is, but whether he is an Abolitionist. Our friend from England mistook in saying that the Abolitionists generally were non-resistants. One of the glories of the Anti-Slavery platform is that it tolerates all manner of opinions. We all think variously upon all subjects, except Abolition. He himself preferred to consider the moral rather than the political aspects of the subject, and he thought that those aspects were needed by the community still.

Mr. MOORE, of Lynn, thought with a previous speaker that the Abolitionists had made a mistake in advocating disunion. No possible benefit could come from disunion. He believed in fidelity to moral principle. He did not believe in isolation. He would go into the world, and combat its evils. If he could not get all he desired, he would get all he could. Abolitionists ought to go to the ballot-box. This government, bad as it was, was the best hope of the world. We must go forward, and try to roll back the dark wave of slavery.

HENRY C. WRIGHT said—I have held one, and only one position on the subject of slavery, namely, that it is a self-evident wrong, and the right of all men to liberty is a self-evident right. If the Bible, or the Constitution, or any document or human institution deny a self-evident truth, they are self-evident lies. Each must judge for himself what is true, and must follow his conviction as a thinking being.

I believe that the negro is the only name given under heaven whereby this nation can be saved. It cannot succeed, it cannot prosper, still less lead other nations to freedom, until it does justice to the negro. This nation tried to carry on this war and suppress the rebellion without the negro. They were failing, sinking, and they cried to the negro, "Save us, or we perish." The black men of the country magnanimously answered the call, and are now putting their shoulders to the wheel to save us. No more noble example of Christian forgiveness was ever shown.

The negro is working his way to honor and a just consideration in this nation, and he will succeed, and compel the nation to confess its wrong towards him.

Before closing, Mr. Wright wished to call the public attention to the fact that the President had placed the noble Gen. Grant in his present position, and was upholding him there. Grant is unwilling that this contest shall be settled until slavery is utterly destroyed; and Lincoln sustains and maintains him.

EDMUND QUINCY, Esq, would point out the error of two speakers who had assumed that the Abolitionists had refused to vote in order to promote the abolition of slavery. This was not their reason. They refused the ballot to preserve their personal honor; they would not swear to do that which they would not, and ought not, in person, or by another, perform. They could not accept political influence in violation of conscience. As dissenters in England were affected by test oaths, so the Abolitionists had been debarred from political action here. But we are happy to believe that our position has been efficient for good results in political affairs.

Mr. LAWSON said—We all have a right to criticize. He had stood by the side of black soldiers in the field and could frankly testify that they had not been well tested. The annals of this war will show no courage, fortitude, fidelity, superior to that of the colored troops. Even the Tract Society now dares to praise the black man, and to talk about citizenship for him. Slavery is dead, though it is yet quivering in Kentucky. Let the black men go on as they have done, and they will yet shame this nation into giving them their rights, and an equal citizenship. Colored children, even now, are singing the John Brown song and the star-spangled banner in the house of Governor Wise. The Southern freedmen are now owning as well as working the lands at Hilton Head; and they are to be landholders and citizens all over the South. They built a school-house at Hilton Head even before any school-master was ready. All these things are most encouraging for the future.

HENRY C. WRIGHT asked what Mr. LAWSON knew of any aid which the President had given to these movements of the colored men.

Mr. LAWSON knew nothing upon that subject. He had had the good fortune to be at the front, and to be occupied with the work there; and he thought that some of the soldiers at the front and some of the President's councillors might advantageously have changed positions. The old hunkers and Democrats are getting converted by the war. It is the negro soldiers who will emancipate the slaves.

Mr. Lawson could testify that there had been much prayer and religious feeling in the Confederate army in Stonewall Jackson's time; now he thought it was exceeded in Gen. Grant's army, and therefore, he thought, we should be victorious.

Adjourned to half-past seven.

Evening Session.

Mr. QUINCY in the chair.

Rev. A. T. FOSS of New Hampshire said he had been full of hope, both before and since the present rebellion. He thought, with Mr. Garrison, that there was more peace now in this country than ever before. He thought Gen. Grant a better laborer for peace than Secretary Beckwith of the Peace Society. He had undergone severe family losses in the war, but he was ready to lose life itself, if necessary, in the cause of freedom.

Whatever differences of opinion exist among us in regard to measures, he felt sure we were agreed in principle. He thought also that Mr. Lincoln was disposed to do right. To be sure, Chase, or Fremont, or Butler would do better, but neither of them can be elected. If we must have Mr. Lincoln, let us by all means have the criticisms of Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Foster, and Mrs. Foster, to urge them forward.

Mr. Lincoln, after all, does something. The return of fugitive slaves is practically stopped. The colored soldiers are to have full pay. We are making progress.

Great progress has been made in this city. The colored regiments in its streets have shown an immense change. If we are faithful to our trust, this progress will continue until the work of freedom shall be perfected. To insure the true liberty of white men we *must* insure the freedom and the rights of the blacks. Thank God for it.

I accept Wendell Phillips's criticism. On the other hand, I accept the favorable view taken by Mr. Garrison of the reelection of Abraham Lincoln. I will rather accept him for four years more than run the risk of McClellan, or any scoundrel of that sort.

Let us not hesitate about the danger of debt, in so rich a country as this. Neither will I find fault for the suppression of the *habeas corpus*. Let it be suspended as long as the necessity lasts. We will have it back again when we want it. [FOSTER—If you can get it.] If we *can* get it? We will have it, whether or no.

When liberty comes, we must all say—Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name, O Lord, be the glory! Abraham Lincoln will deserve no praise for it. The Republican party will deserve no praise. All of us have come short of our duty.

Mrs. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER would remind those who attended our Conventions in former years that our discussions are very much like those which prevailed then—a choice of candidates. Twenty-four years ago today, in Faneuil Hall, the question of how we shall vote was under consideration—many of the Abolitionists were inclined to be Whigs. We took the ground at that Convention, that whoever accepted a Governor, Candidate, or Church became himself guilty through an agent. We took the ground that we would do right ourselves, let the consequences be what they may. Duty is ours—events are God's. "Do right though the Heavens fall." Our business is to preach absolute righteousness, that there is no safety except in absolute justice. Accept no small evils which are sure to prove to be large ones. Are we to give up our old position? Then we become not an Anti-Slavery Society, but a political party. We had settled this question of policy.

Mr. PHILLIPS followed with a strong speech in opposition to the Administration, which we do not attempt even to sketch, for the reason that the substance of it was repeated the next evening at Tremont Temple, and that speech will be given in full hereafter.

S. S. FOSTER did not quite agree with Mr. Phillips. He regards the Constitution now, even with the pro-slavery interpretation, as giving full control over slavery. Therefore Fremont could be voted for. Fremont, as President, would entirely abolish slavery.

Mr. FOSS replied to Mrs. Foster that he also wished to be a fanatic, as long as he lives. He is not ignorant of the old debates of the Anti-Slavery Society, but there has been a great change within twenty-four years. [Mrs. FOSTER—Of principle?] No, principles have not changed, but liberty is in danger, and I believe the election of Lincoln is the better way to insure its preservation.

Mr. MAY gave a financial nôtice, and then the President announced

H. C. WRIGHT—Mr. Lincoln, like Mr. Phillips, believes the Constitution pro-slavery. He has sworn to execute it as he believes it. Why should he not execute it?

Mr. Phillips objects to Abraham Lincoln. Why?

Now he presents another candidate, as he has a right to do. Now I want Wendell Phillips to show us that his candidate has better anti-slavery antecedents than Abraham Lincoln.

What are the anti-slavery antecedents of Fremont? What has he done since the rebellion broke out, except issuing that proclamation?

The Convention then adjourned, to meet in the Tremont Temple, on Friday, at 10 a.m.

Friday---Morning Session.

The President, Mr. QUINCY, in the chair.

The resolutions offered at previous sessions were read by the Secretary.

Mr. MAY read the following resolutions by request of Mrs. Dall; also reading in connection a statement of an eminent loyalist of Missouri, rehearsing the circumstances of the present status of the black man there, and moved the reference of the resolutions to the Business Committee, which was voted:—

Resolved, That with deep thankfulness to God, and in grateful recognition of all human agencies, we congratulate the State of Missouri on being the first, not merely of the loyal States, but of the world's nations, voluntarily to emancipate her own slaves, without compensation.

Resolved, That while we gratefully recognize in the Emancipation Ordinance of Missouri the substantial triumph of an anti-slavery principle, we do it only in the confident hope that, by a speedy convention of her people, she will wipe the last mark of the stain from her statute-book.

Mr. TOOHEY wished to make a general statement in regard to the people called "Spiritualists," that, as a body, they are neither pro-slavery nor anti-slavery.

He wished also to explain, that the manifestly pro-slavery character of the Irishmen in this country is not to be attributed to their nationality, but to the ill-training they have received from the Democratic leaders of this country.

Rev. Mr. BILLINGS, formerly Lieut.-Colonel of the first South Carolina Regiment of colored men, was next introduced to the Convention.

No subject, he thought, could be fitter for our consideration than the character of the men now on trial for election to the next Presidency.

There are two kinds of greatness, that of position merely, and that of character. The person in question, a man high in position, has told us—"I do not make events; events make me." It seems to me that this is an unworthy speech for a man holding so much power in his hands, and more able than any man in the nation to shape events at his pleasure.

We have been told of Mr. Lincoln's prayers, as one of the evidences of his fitness for his function. But, judging from his administration, he seems to have prayed more to the Border States than to the Creator (applause and hisses). Is Mr. Lincoln great by position, or by character? Birds of a feather flock together. Who are Mr. Lincoln's officers and associates?

Mr. Billings commented upon some persons who had received office from the President, in spite of the disqualifications of gross intemperance and disloyalty in their characters.

Now as to the pay of colored soldiers. I recruited my men under the promise of the Secretary of War that they should have the regular pay of soldiers. For the first seven months, they did have the regular pay, both privates and non-commissioned officers. Afterwards the pay was cut down, and the non-commissioned officers were paid only as privates.

Mr. GARRISON presented the petition, now in course of circulation by the Women's National League, praying Congress to immediately abolish slavery throughout the country, and that the Constitution may be amended so as forever to prohibit slavery in every part of the country.

Mr. J. C. CLUER asked and received permission to read to the Convention some brief remarks of Mrs. Spence (before a Spiritualist Convention) in favor of slavery.

Mr. BRADLEY (colored) of Boston declared himself in favor of Old Uncle Abe (applause), but yet made certain particular exceptions against him, namely: his refusal of the suffrage to the colored men of Louisiana—his exception of certain parts of the South from the Emancipation Proclamation—his drafting colored men as soldiers, when he would not allow them to be citizens—and his refusal to allow colored officers to colored soldiers.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER moved to take up the resolutions offered yesterday, and to take a vote upon them at this session.

Mr. MAY hoped the Convention would not bind itself to action at any particular session.

Mr. GARRISON stated that the custom had been to delay action till the close of the meeting.

Mr. FOSTER replied, that many of those who had heard the debates were not present at the final vote. It was on that very account that he moved for action immediately following the debate.

Mrs. FOSTER spoke briefly in favor of the motion.

The vote being taken, was declared by the President to be in the negative.

The vote being doubted, was repeated, with the same result.

Mrs. FOSTER moved that the vote on these resolutions be taken at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

Decided in the affirmative.

By request, the resolutions offered by Mr. PILLSBURY were then read by the Secretary.

Mr. MAY gave notice of the usual action of the Financial Committee at this time, requesting donations and pledges to the cause for the coming year. He also read a letter from a lady of Plainfield, Conn., enclosing twenty dollars to the Convention.

PARKER PILLSBURY then addressed the audience.

Various Anti-Slavery associations, including the Church Anti-Slavery Society and the Emancipation League, have discovered that the moral work of Abolition yet remains to be done. Holding, myself, this idea, and seeing that the government and the political parties are trusting mainly to operations in the field, I hold it to be our work to push forward the moral revolution in regard to slavery.

The Church is right in saying that without repentance there is no remission of sins. The government does not depend upon justice, nor attempt to execute it. The nation is not penitent, nor disposed to reform. We are yet dead in trespasses and sins.

In regard to the President, I think he has well redeemed the promise he made in his inaugural address. He then said he had no objection to the pro-slavery guarantees of the Constitution being made permanent. This has been the key to his subsequent course.

He told a delegation of colored men who waited upon him—"You and we are of a different race; and emancipation will not bring you to equality with us." This also is consistent with his conduct and policy ever since.

Mr. GARRISON said—

Why bring up this interview between the colored people and the President now? My friend Mr. Pillsbury has of late nothing but accusation and condemnation for the President. I criticize some acts of Mr. Lincoln, and approve others. We must candidly consider both. We must be just and state things fairly on both sides (great applause). As to the matter of Colonization, Mr. Pillsbury omits to state, that the colonization at Apache, Hayti having failed, Mr. Lincoln had sent and brought all the colonists back to this country.

GEORGE THOMPSON next took the floor. His heart he said, was full, but his health was inadequate to the full expression of his feelings.

He must commence with the most earnest congratulations on the progress which our cause has made. He had been amused to hear the injustice which had been used by some in speaking of the character and conduct of President Lincoln (immense applause). His sense of justice had been violated by such treatment of the Chief Magistrate of America (tumultuous applause). Who has occasioned the progress which our cause has made? Have the copperheads, have the rebels done it? We in England watched your progress with the extremest interest. We knew at first nothing of Mr. Lincoln. I sought information respecting his history, his views and principles. I judged him with the eye of an Abolitionist, and by my own unbiassed sense of right and justice. [Mr. Thompson here read a passage from one of Mr. Lincoln's speeches in his debate with Stephen A. Douglas, which he said he would rather have been the author of than of all the eloquence of Burke.] Thank God that you have for your President the man who has uttered such words (great applause). Now we look at your country and see a total change. My wonder is, how so much could have been brought about.

Far be it from me to detract from the value of criticism: but its value will be proportioned to its justice. Your government was a pro-slavery, it is now an anti-slavery government.

[Mr. Thompson's time being finished, it was moved and unanimously voted that he be requested to proceed.]

You were formerly trying to make freedom national and slavery sectional. Now freedom *is* national. Now representatives from negro republics are sent to Washington and honorably received there. The recognition of Hayti and Liberia were not acts of military necessity. Much complaint has been made of the President's use of these words, but they have served an important use in the phase of your nation's ideas.

Mr. Thompson replied to complaints made against the President in regard to negro citizenship, and other matters, and claimed that no cause for despondency exists in regard to the work of national renovation.

There are now nearly ten months remaining of Mr. Lincoln's incumbency in office. If you should, instead of debating about the next election, turn your unanimous efforts towards the establishment and confirmation of a public sentiment so strongly anti-slavery as to permit his further advance in that direction, your present troubles might be settled before the time of reëlection arrives.

AARON POWELL, of New York, addressed the Convention in an argument to show that the colored population of the country had been ignored at first, and subordinated afterwards, to the greatest extent possible; and that the Administration's intention, judging it by its acts, was to leave this portion of the people with the fewest possible rights and immunities, while getting from them the greatest possible service.

Adjourned to a quarter before 3.

Afternoon Session.

The PRESIDENT in the chair.

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN was the first speaker. He spoke of the importance of reviewing our ground, ascertaining our exact position, and assuring ourselves of the nature and amount of the work yet before us.

Slavery has received a severe, it may be a fatal blow. Yet the colored man has everything yet to fear. Even when Grant's army shall be successful, we, the colored people, will be yet in danger. The advantages that we have so far received have come as much through Jeff. Davis as through President Lincoln. This war was begun with the purpose of restoring the nation as it was, and leaving the black man where he was. Now the time has come when you must recognize the black man as on the same footing with the white man. If not, the mission of the war is not ended, and we must have yet more disasters to scourge us into the right way.

WILLIAM A. DAVIS (formerly coachman of Jefferson Davis)—The prayers of Mr. Lincoln have been referred to repeatedly. I judge a man not so much by his praying as by what he does after he prays. I believe that no where in the world is there so much praying as in the South, nor so much deviltry.

I was born a slave. And I lived one until after Gen. Butler went to New Orleans. Then I thought the time had come for me to be free, and I began to pray, and also to act. And I made my escape.

In the South, all the slaveholders hated Abraham Lincoln, and cursed and abused him. That made us think Mr. Lincoln was on our side, and I shall now take a bright view of his character.

The Anti-Slavery work is not yet done. When the black man is forced into the army with inferior pay, and the refusal of the rights of a citizen, it is plain that the work necessary for that people is not yet finished.

Some of the speakers here have painted Mr. Lincoln in very black colors. I shall now notice some of the good things he has done. It has been said that more fugitives have been returned to slavery under Mr. Lincoln than under any other President. But it is fair to observe also that more slaves have been emancipated under him than under any other President.

The difficult time for this country will be when the rebels have been whipped, and the work of reconstruction begins. Then we must take care that slavery is buried so deep as not to rise again even in the morning of the resurrection.

The time having arrived when the question was appointed to be taken upon Mr. Pillsbury's resolutions, they were again read by the Secretary.

Mr. GARRISON read two resolutions, and moved that they be substituted for those offered by Mr. Pillsbury.

Resolved, That the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause, since the rebellion broke out, in view of the fearfully divided state of public sentiment and feeling toward the negro race throughout the North, almost verging upon bloody civil war at our own doors, has been truly wonderful, and far beyond our most sanguine expectations; that among the signal evidences of this progress are the treaty with Great Britain for the utter suppression of the foreign slave trade—the recognition of the citizenship of all native-born colored inhabitants—the enrolment of tens of thousands of free colored and governmentally emancipated slaves as soldiers under the flag, recognized by the decision of Attorney-General Bates as entitled to equal compensation with white soldiers—the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and, above all, the proclamation of President Lincoln, emancipating forever more than three million of the slave population; and, taking encouragement from the past, we would respectfully, but earnestly, urge the President to use his utmost constitutional power to secure equal rights for all under the national flag, without regard to complexional distinctions, and to promptly and effectually discountenance all acts on the part of his subordinates violative of those rights.

Resolved, That with equal earnestness we call upon Congress, before its adjournment, to give heed to the numerous petitions of the people to pass a law abolishing slavery universally in the land, and to amend the Constitution of the United States, as to make slaveholding in any State an illegal act.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER said—The resolution offered by Mr. Garrison as a substitute, states something positively false. Our government has *not* recognized the citizenship of the negro.

Mr. GARRISON pointed out the ground and reasons for the statement.

Mrs. FOSTER wished to ask whether Mr. Lincoln, who urged the rebels to lay down their arms that they might keep their slaves, would not have kept his part of the bargain if they had accepted

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

WAITING.

SWEET, sweet are the swaying blossoms,
Sweeter the tale they coyly tell,
That those who've loved through all the years
Ne'er loved till now one-half so well.
And sweeter still, this self-same breeze
That sends their fragrance to my room
Is with you, and showers on you
Their spring-time wealth of sweet perfume!

Sweet, sweet are the bending blossoms,
Full half my heart I think they know;
Else why such shyly murmured tales
Of our glorious "long ago,"
And the dear heart I know so well,
Whose love is all my life to me?
Be still! In this fair sunny scene
Surely I need not fear for thee!

But, as I spoke I seemed to hear
The bugle's far off battle-cry;
And now I see, deep in the heart
Of one white bud a dark stain lie.
I shut my eyes, I hold my heart,
But that far cry has roused the land;
By dark-stained blossoms trampled down
Now seems each straining vision spanned.

I know it all—the anxious days,
The long nights of feverish prayer,
The eyes' mute question, the false tales,
The sudden hope, the quick despair,
The victorious shouts, and then—
The hard-fought battle barely won:
The greater fear—for in those ranks
Each heart beats fast for news of *one*.

And I—Oh, God! can'st thou behold
That brave young form, and dauntless brow,
Can'st look on that pure, manly heart,
Whose truth none knows so well as thou—
The fresh young life, the aspiring hopes—
And oh! to all our hearts so dear!
And for our sake, and manhood's sake,
To be his guard and shield forbear?

Oh, hateful blossoms, waving still,
All broke, and pray some must in vain;
Oh! hateful blossoms, should this be,
Spring-time could never smile again!
How white and calm they answer me
With mute reproach, and the birds' song
Rebukes my weak faith; I *am* weak,
And can but cry, "Oh, Lord, how long!"

Elizabeth, N. J., May 9, 1863. S. M. B.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE NEGRO QUEEN OF ANGOLA.

ZHINGA OR ZINGLIA—BANDI OR ANNA XINGA.

[*Latitude 5° to 10° South of the Equator.**]

IT is the fashion with negrophobists to declare the unadulterated negro incapable of self-government, much less of developing any powers of administration, domestic and foreign, and statescraft. Basing their theory on the fact that the African negro races possess neither native histories nor biographies, they deduce therefrom that negroes have neither made nor are capable of furnishing materials for histories, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, instructive histories. The following sketch of the achievements of a negro monarch—a woman, too—demonstrates that the contrary is true, since she not only proved herself an able sovereign, but exhibited the highest powers of diplomacy, generalship and administration.

The Portuguese, at the zenith of their power, made extensive conquests and settlements on the Western shores of Africa. Already, towards the end of the XVth Century, JOHN I., the *Great* or *Severe*, had assumed the title of "Lord of Guinea," and his Admiral-Generals had subjected 210 miles of the Coast. Thence his people derived large revenues, not only from the gold mines, but many other branches of lucrative commercial enterprise. While the Spanish monarchs (1580–1640) ruled over Portugal likewise, their subjects exported thence 15,000 slaves, annually, to America. When Portugal recovered its independence, this detestable traffic proved too remunerative to be abandoned or diminished. About 1580, however, the Sovereign of Congo was induced to renounce the practice of idolatry, and his barbarous subjects were brought in a measure under the influence of Christian missionaries.

A half century afterwards the Angola coast constituted one of the richest colonies of the House of Braganza. Oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and wine-yielding grapes abounded. The Province of HAMBA, by irregation and careful culture, had become a "*New Spain*," when that title was equivalent to a mine of wealth, either in surface or subterranean productiveness.

About 1584, the government of Angola was consolidated into a Feudalism. Previous to that date, Angola, or Congo, was divided into a number of great principalities. In each of these the Chief, or Lord, styled *Sova*, exercised sovereign rights. About the middle of the XVth Century, one of these SOVAS, named Ngola or ANGOLA, with the assistance of the Portuguese, reduced these independent princes into vassalage, leaving them, however, almost as despotic power within their own districts as he exercised unlimited authority over them. The European monarchies were similarly constituted in mediæval times, but a better parallel is the system of government prevailing in Japan. He is said to have been able to levy an army of over 200,000 men. Of these the Giagas were the most warlike; the Benguelese the most ferocious, almost as much so as the lions and tigers who disputed the possession of their jungles. Their arms were bows and arrows, with assagays or formidable javelins. They had also learned to use the axe and sabre. Firearms they were unaccustomed to. All fought on foot. The royal residence was above Massingau, in a town built upon a rock, named Mapongo, which was over six miles in circumference, while the summit seemed to touch the very clouds. Around this elevation extended fertile plains, watered by numerous streams, which rendered the neighborhood extremely agreeable. Mapongo was inaccessible on all sides but one, so that the inhabitants had little fear of any sudden attack. Subsequently, one of his successors, King BANDI-ANGOLA, or Dongo, was assassinated, about 1620 (Moreri reads 1640, but this must be a mistake), by some of his own officers, leaving a legitimated son and three daughters. One of these, the heroine of this sketch, ZHINGA, was born about 1582, of a slave mother. Her brother, NGOLA-BANDI, succeeded to a contested inheritance. One of his first acts was to send his sister ZHINGA as ambassadress to the Portuguese Vice-Royal, at his vice-regal capital, Loando, known on modern maps as St. Paul de Assumpcao de Loando, on the coast near the mouth of the Coanza river. She set out, accompanied by a magnificent retinue. But while pacific words dwelt upon her lips, her heart was a prey to the bitterest enmity, not only against the Portuguese, who had conquered and appropriated a portion of her native country, but against the king, her brother, whose jealous hands had murdered her son. Zhinga was received with all the honors due to her rank; and lodged consistently in a palace prepared for her. In her audience she exhibited a courtly self-possession equal to that of the famous Godfrey of Bouillon in the presence of the Greek Emperor, Alexis, and no less magnanimity. On entering, she perceived that while the Portuguese Viceroy, Don John, was seated in a magnificent elbow chair, no settle had been destined for her; and, instead, only a tapestry spread on the floor, with a velvet cushion embroidered with gold. Thereupon, by a glance of her eye, she indicated her will to a female slave. This latter, throwing herself upon her knees and elbows, presented her back as a seat to her mistress. Thus placed, Zhinga continued during the whole interview. Notwithstanding the menaces and solicitations of the Viceroy, Zhinga displayed so much determination and ability, that the Portuguese Fidalgo was contented at length to limit his terms to a demand for the restitution of his captive countrymen. With this reservation, the negro Queen accepted a treaty of alliance and peace. About to retire, the Viceroy called her attention to the kneeling female slave, who had served as a seat. Zhinga answered that it did not agree with the dignity of the ambassadress of a great king to avail herself twice of the same seat, or to remove it; thus imitating the historic magnanimity of Godfrey and his suite, who left behind them their magnificent cloaks, which had served them for cushions or couches; and the negro dame retired, leaving her slave at the disposition of her entertainer. Thus a critical analysis continually discovers strange parallels and analogies in history. While at St. Paul de Loando—where she continued some time, using all her powers of observation—Zhinga, however, had not confined herself to her peculiar functions. She had been as busy with her eyes as with her tongue. She paid particular attention to the discipline, equipment, administration and exercises of the Portuguese military establishments, equal to any of their era. Like Peter the Great, she knew how to learn, and to apply. In 1622, during this visit, she embraced the Christian religion, and was baptized under the name of ANNA XINGA. The Portuguese Viceroy and Queen were her god-parents.

On her return to the court of Angola, in the interior, the King, her brother, feigned to accept the treaty she had negotiated and to imitate her conversion. But his intentions were entirely opposite. He recommenced the war with the Portuguese, was defeated by them, and subsequently poisoned by his own people. Zhinga then usurped the throne, and by great adroitness acquired possession of the person of her nephew, heir to the monarchy. The young black heir-apparent had been confided to the care of a negro Sova, or great feudal Lord, Giaga-Casa, chief of the valiant Giagas, who was only won over by the dexterity of Zhinga, after a long resistance to her projects. Once master of the person of her nephew, the negro queen slew him and unfurled her standard against the powerful Portuguese. She formed a coalition of native tribes, among these the warlike Giagas, negotiated treaties with the Hollanders and black King of Congo, and made such dashing attacks upon the Portuguese that she won considerable advantage over them, despite their superior arms and preparation. Meanwhile, the Hollanders took St. Paul de Loando in 1641, and conquered several important provinces along the coast, while the Portuguese were fully occupied in encountering Zhinga. In 1646 (Moreri), she burnt or destroyed the villages in the province of Oandc and carried off the inhabitants into slavery. Not until 1648, when the Admiral-Captain-General, CORREA DE SAA (Salvador), arrived from Pernambuco (Brazil) with 11 vessels of war and a numerous fleet of transports, were the Portuguese able to retrieve their disasters. Correa de Saa beat the Hollanders, reconquered St. Paul de Loando, the capital of the Portuguese possessions, defeated the King of Congo, compelled him to sue for peace, and forced Zhinga, after several battles, to take refuge in the deserts (or rather unexplored tracts now known to be fertile in rice and millet) east of the luxuriant coast region. John IV., who filled the Portuguese throne in 1640–'56, authorized him, in recognition of his services, to add two negro kings as supporters to his arms. Although followed by only a few but devoted troops, Zhinga maintained her haughty demeanor and hopes of better fortune. Carrea de Saa, although victorious, offered to reëstablish her on her throne if she would acknowledge herself a vassal of the Portuguese crown. "If my people," Zhinga answered to the proposals of the victorious Captain-General, "are willing to wear disgraceful fetters, I, their queen, cannot suffer myself to exist as a dependent of any foreign power." Thereupon the Portuguese crowned a phantom king in her stead, one Angola Oarjy, baptized as John I. He soon died of mortification and grief. They replaced him by another protege, Angola Sodesie, styled Philip. This puppet, who bore his gilded yoke with more patience than his predecessor, died in 1660.

Furious at these invasions of her rights, at the loss of eleven of her finest provinces, at enjoying only a precarious authority in the others, at being restricted to the possession of the interior kingdom of Matamba,* alone, Zhinga renounced Christianity and declared herself chieftainess of the warlike Giagas, living at the head sources of the Coango affluent of the Zaire and between them and Jutcal lake Ynan. For 28 years, at the head of her ferocious but intrepid troops, Zhinga harassed the civilized and then extremely warlike Portuguese. She invaded the provinces they had usurped, drove away the population as prisoners and their cattle as booty, laid waste all which she could not appropriate and burnt all which could not be removed.

In vain the Portuguese exhausted all their resources. The negro queen was unconquerable. In vain they sought to appease her fury by donatives and advantageous offers. This chieftainess, styled barbarian, was not to be cajoled. Nothing would content her but the complete restitution of her country and throne. Ever, arms in hand and in command, this negro Tomyrie or Boadicea carried on the war with such ability that, day by day, she augmented the terror inspired by her fury and generalship.

At length, tempted by success, Zhinga advanced as far as the isle or delta of the Coanza or Quanza named Dangy (? Daude, a very populous district), and menaced the colonial capital St. Paul de Loando. To resist this invasion, the Portuguese had to levy an army of negro auxiliaries, blockade the isle and throw up lines of defence and circumvallation. Through an undefended space, Zhinga made a successful attack, slew hundreds of the negro sepoys, and even of the white troops. The Portuguese now put in operation their whole engineering skill and fortified themselves so thoroughly, that a second attack, which the negro queen had planned and prepared, became inexecutable. Moreover, the Portuguese firearms proved so awfully destructive, that, even to maintain her position, was evidently a useless sacrifice of her bravest troops. Immediate retreat now was inevitable. How to do so, however, with safety, under the fire of the Portuguese lines, was the question. The negro generaless resorted to a stratagem. She imitated our secession friends, and asked a truce of three days in order to discuss terms of accommodation. It was gladly accorded. The same night Zhinga withdrew unperceived across the river. Lee may have taken lessons from the history of Anna Xinga. When her withdrawal was reported, the Portuguese, fearful of an ambuscade, were for some time afraid to follow, and thus lost an opportunity of ending the war, so ruinous to them, at a blow. We have seen two notable instances of similar caution upon the Potomac. The negro queen retired into the mountainous but fertile province of Oacco, south of the upper Coanza. She only remained therein, however, until assured her enemies had retired from the shores of the Coanza. Then again she traversed this river and invaded that part of her kingdom of Matamba which had been wrested from her. Such was the celerity of her marches and her success in finding recruits among the warlike Giagas, who gloried in serving under her banners, that she was able to recover several of her ravished provinces. Then again she invaded the triangular district between the Daude, Lucale and Coanza, part of Angola proper, but suffered such losses at the hands of the better armed Portuguese, she had again to call out new levies to fill the ghastly gaps in her ranks. At this juncture, another negro prince, Giaga Cassange, who presided over mountain regions east of Matamba, invaded her own faithful country nuded of defenders. Fire and sword devoured all not carried off as captives and booty. Matamba was left a desert. This diversion, instigated no doubt by the Portuguese, saved their rich colonies, for Zhinga, abandoning her plans against them, hastened back by forced marches to encounter her native foe. He fled before her, carrying with him still farther into the then unknown and impenetrable mountainous interior, his captives and plunder.

Even at this ebb of her power, Zhinga was so terrible to the Portuguese, they feared that her arms or diplomacy might transmute Giaga-Cassange from an actual opponent into a still more active ally. To avert this they sent envoys to reconcile the two negro sovereigns and negotiate a general peace. Giaga Cassange was the first visited, in his capital, 300 miles, according to Chatelain, according to Dufour and Dyonnet, upwards of double that distance in the interior, east by South of Loando. He received the propositions favorably. Then the embassy repaired to Umba, a province of Matamba, where Zhinga was encamped. She received these envoys with stately courtesy, but was as proof against the wiles of the lay-deputy, an old experienced officer, Don Ruy Pegado, as of the accompanying priests. As at the first, she refused to entertain any peace-propositions until she was restored to all her rights of which she had unjustly been despoiled. The envoys retired, leaving behind, under various pretexts, a priest, to endeavor to work out, through the latent influences of her former conversion to Christianity, what the soldiers and diplomatists had failed in accomplishing by arms or cajoleries. Zhinga soon after experienced a severe illness, but sick or well, the padre Antonio-Coeglio found all his eloquence of no effect. The sagacity of the uneducated negro was equal to the educated craft of the European priest. He returned, unsuccessful, to his employers, and Zhinga, upon her restoration to health, recommenced the war with recuperative vigor. With changing fortune, she failed before the fortress of Massangano, on an island in the Coanza or peninsula formed by the Coanza and Lucrale rivers, about 100 miles South-east of Loando; but her invasion transformed the richest and best cultivated Portuguese provinces into comparative deserts. While thus making her enemies feel the fearful vigor of her arms, her astute intelligence sowed divisions even among the negro subjects of the Portuguese. She was on the point of accomplishing the betrayal of the important fortress of Massagnano. Through the intermediation of her sister Fungi, captured in the previous attempt upon that post, she maintained a correspondence with adherents among its inhabitants. The plot was ripe for execution, and Massagnano was on the point of being delivered up to her, when Zhinga learned her plans had been discovered, and that her sister had been strangled. This had occurred while she was on the march with a new army to carry out her part of the project. She was encamped in the province of Onnando (? Orando), on north bank of the Daude, engaged in devastating the possessions of her enemy, when the fatal tidings of Fungi's fate was announced, coupled with the news that the Hollanders, her allies, had not only been defeated, but expelled from the land of Angola.

The death of her sister excited emotions which led to a reconsideration of the doctrines which she had accepted upon her conversion to Christianity. She adopted milder resolutions, and listened to a missionary who had penetrated to her court or camp. The first testimony of the effects of her reawakened Christianity was a less cruel treatment of her Christian prisoners, especially those invested with a religious character. Nevertheless, she evinced no diminution of her resolution never to lay aside her arms until she had repossessed herself of her Angolan dominions of which she had been deprived.

The Viceroy, Don Correa de Saa, in vain sought through the intermediation of missionaries, to work on her gentler mood. Having concluded a peace with the king of Congo, North-east of Matamba coast, between Daude South and Coango North, he proposed a like advantageous treaty to Zhinga. She offered in reply to return to the Roman Catholic church and enter into a close alliance with the king of Portugal if that monarch would assist her in recovering her dominions. This she knew would amount to a refusal, and that the Portuguese would never consent to do her justice until compelled thereto by force of arms. Then, in 1648 commenced a series of negotiations which lasted three years without result. During this time, Don Correa de Saa kept plying her with infructuous letters, to which she deigned no satisfactory reply. Meanwhile, Zhinga continued in arms and carried on the war, diplomatizing and fighting simultaneously. Doubtless, however, hostilities were restricted to frontier posts. These negotiations awakened the distrust of her faithful Giagas, who feared that her leaning to Christianity might lead to her abandonment of their cause as that of idolators. To appease their murmurs, the negro queen resolved upon a cruel step. She ordered a solemn religious ceremony, something similar to the funeral rites of the neighboring kings of Dahomey, in which a great number of children were immolated. This crime is not chargeable to Zhinga only, for she was only driven to it when a revolt, instigated, it was supposed, by the Christian Viceroy, was imminent. Shortly after, a leading general of the Giagas was converted to Christianity. Subsequently (who can state with confidence her real motives?) deeming the moment opportune, Zhinga assembled her people in 1655, and addressing the multitude, she exhorted them to embrace the Roman Catholic faith. Her majestic air, her enthusiastic language and her intelligent arguments were potential. She was rewarded with applause instead of the contumelious disapprobation she feared. Next she concluded a truce with the Portuguese and received missionaries, who became her counsellors. These induced her to abolish idolatry and ameliorate the condition of her people. Henceforth her feudal nobility were no longer permitted to oppress their vassals as they had formerly done. To encourage marriage, Zhinga herself wedded a handsome young fellow in the 75th year of her age. Now the Viceroy renewed his propositions that she should become the vassal of his monarch. On this point she was inflexible. Fearing lest his repugnant offer might again arouse her hostility, Don Correa de Saa submitted more honorable terms. These Zhinga deemed acceptable, and a peace was concluded between the negro queen and the powerful Portuguese monarch. The river Sucalla, which has its source in the territory of Ohholo and empties into the Coanza, after a West South-westerly course, above and near Massagnano, was fixed as the boundary between the two sovereignties, kingdoms of Angola, to be ruled by the Viceroy, and of Matamba, under the independent sovereignty of Zhinga. At this time, Louise de Guzneau, Queen of John IV., was Regent (1656–1666) of Portugal. April 1657, the Negress and the Fidalgo signed and sealed as equals.

The same year, Giaga Caolanda, an irreconcilable enemy of the Portuguese and a vassal of the black queen, recommenced aggressions upon the former, who complained to Zhinga. To prove the integrity of her purpose, on the 15th of December, 1657, although aged 75, Zhinga assumed the command of an army she had assembled. To vindicate her sincere intentions to abide by her treaty, she marched against Caolanda, conquered and captured him, cut off his head, and sent it to the Viceroy at Loando. In March, 1658, she returned in triumph to her capital, now styled Santa Maria de Matamba (not laid down on any map examined), as a memorial of her reconversion.

During her absence and the campaign against the Sova Caolanda, the king of Ajacca (? Jagas, lying to the Northwards of Zaire on Loango, famous elephant hunters) invaded her dominions. Turning her victorious arms against this new enemy, the negro queen speedily triumphed over him and compelled him to submit to the terms she imposed. The same year she abolished the cruel ceremony of the *Tombo*, those horrible royal funeral rites which have rendered the kingdom of Dahomey an execration to all humane, moral and Christian men. During these abominable ceremonies, numbers of human beings were slaughtered whose flesh served to regale the relatives and friends of the deceased. About the same time, she sent an embassy to the Pope, Alexander VII., to request a reinforcement of missionaries. The following year, she founded a new city (? Zhinga—in mountain region, about 50 miles South-east of head-waters of Daude and North-east of head-waters of the Lucale), adorned with a fine church and a royal palace. In this church the papal brief or response was publicly read 15th July, 1662, in the presence of the black queen and a numerous and brilliant retinue. The fete was terminated by festivities, in which Zhinga, although over 80 years of age, took an active part, developing all the vigor, force, agility and address of a woman of 25. As the head of the females of her court (Mereri says young men clad as women), dressed and armed as amazons, she ordered and executed a sham battle to the surprise and admiration of every spectator. Zhinga was seized with an inflammation of the respiratory organs in September 1662, and died 17th December following in her 84th year, persevering in her attachment to the Christian religion as she had been instructed, stimulated to a bigotry which persecuted those of her subjects who clung to her and their ancestral idolatry. She died like a queen, and received a royal burial, amid the lamentations of an afflicted people, and was succeeded by her sister Cambi, baptized Barbara. She was the Catherine or Elizabeth (Russian) of Africa, without the weakness of either. Perhaps, more properly speaking, however, she was a black Semiramis. Equally great in arms and counsel, as intrepid in action, as sagacious in planning warlike operations, she inspired her European foes with the highest idea of her mental abilities, and lived the terror of her enemies and invaders and the admiration of her subjects. She had even learned to live and eat, and was served in the stateliest European manner. Her career is a proof that the black, of himself, can offer himself as a meet competitor of the European, although such examples are sufficiently rare to be looked upon as prodigies when they occur. Perhaps, under concurrent circumstances, such examples might not be so rare were history more closely studied to elucidate the truth, with an analytic investigation of facts and a judgment divested of prejudice.

There is no race so degraded, the writer believes, as not to be susceptible of great and greater amelioration; no sane mind so dark, but that the light of instruction will illume its deepest recesses and develop excellencies, and Light is Life. K.

* Compare WRAXHALL'S "Civil, Military and Political State of Europe between the middle and close of the XVIth Century"; MORERI'S Dictionary; DUFOUR and DYONNET'S Atlas; CHATELAIN Atlas Historique, VI.; Biographie Universelle, etc., etc.

* Between the head-waters of the Zaire or Congo North and Coanza South and Casal East; bounded North by Congo proper, East by Giaga-Cassange's principality or unexplored mountainous region, West by Portuguese Angola, formerly Angola-proper, South by Bemba and Benguela.

GEN. BUTLER AND COLORED TRAVELLERS.

The Anglo-African tells a good story of Gen. Butler in taking down a conventional "regulation" of Southern social life, that is worth repeating. It seems that a short time since an educated colored lady named Clara Duncan, left New York, under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, as a teacher of the freed people near Fortress Monroe. She was accompanied by a gentleman named Walker and a white lady named Basset, both engaged in the same mission. Proceeding to Baltimore they took the steamer for Fortress Monroe, Miss Duncan and Miss Bassett occupying the same state-room, and at the first meal Miss Duncan going with the other passengers to the first table.

After tea the clerk, taking Mr. Walker aside, inquired if he knew the regulations of the boat. Being answered in the negative, the clerk said, "We don't allow niggers at the first table." He then threatened if Mr. Walker did not keep Miss Duncan in her place, to take her down publicly. The mail agent also interfered and said Mr. Walker "was no gentleman for travelling with a nigger wench," and if Miss Basset were a lady she would not occupy the same state-room with her. During the rest of the passage Miss Duncan was obliged to remain in her state-room. Upon arrival at Fortress Monroe the matter was laid before Gen. Butler. He sharply questioned the clerk, whose name is Wilson, who confessed that no one objected to Miss Duncan's presence at the table, but it was against the rules of the boat, and Rollins, the mail agent, acknowledged that he had no business to meddle in the affair.

A sharp colloquy took place between "Old Ben" and the exquisite woman-haters, which showed that slave servants were accustomed to stay in the saloon or to sleep in the same state-room with the master or mistress; and wrung from the clerk the confession that the free person of color is in a higher state of civilization than the slave in his chains, whereupon Gen. Butler said all he wanted was that the free men shall have the same rights the slaves once enjoyed; "*sit in the saloons, occupy state-rooms, and go to the first table if they desire.*"

The result of the matter was that Wilson, the clerk, was let off with an intimation that such an incident must not be allowed to occur again, but Rollins, the mail agent, having no excuse for his insolent intermeddling, was discharged from the government service.

THE AUCTION-BLOCK.

BY ELMER RUAN COATES.

Dr. Seltzer, of Philadelphia, late Surgeon of the Eighty-eighth Pennsylvania Infantry, brought home from Alexandria a slave auction-block, used by the firm of Burch and Price. The Mayor of Alexandria said he had witnessed many human beings sold upon it. This block can now be seen at the residence of Edwin H. Coates, 930 Spring Garden street, where the following poem was suggested:

AN auction-block! great Heaven! can it be
They sold "God's image" on this wooden frame?
Have we, in "free" (?) and great America,
Incurred that foul and most infernal stain?
Yes! brutal men, with feelings turned to rock,
Sold human beings on this very block!

And, as we look, we see the many dints
Made by the hammer as it strongly fell—
Where some low villain, for his craved per cent.,
Invoked the vengeance of the fiends in hell.
Methinks the very Prince of Darkness found
A mad'ning horror in that hammer's sound.

I see this in the land of Jefferson;
The rum-bloat traders gather for a sale;
The whip is cracking o'er the merchandise,
Now led to market from a filthy jail,
And furies seem to hover in the air,
As some are jesting and as others swear.

There was some transient heaven in a cot—
A ray of comfort when the work was done;
A doating father fondled on his wife,
And kissed his only, darling little one:
The hammer falls; its most accursed tone
Has sold that father from the loved at home.

Upon a balmy, holy night serene,
Two care-worn lovers join the lip and heart—
Young spirits, weary of their loathsome lot,
Would heal the wounds they bear from sorrow's dart;
The hammer falls, and seals the foulest doom—
A harlot's life for that pure octoroon!

I see a youth who has a noble hope—
A hope to learn to read about his God;
Oft would he study by the bright pine knot,
When night would shield him from a tyrant's rod
The hammer waiting on the "once, twice, thrice,"
For learning, sends him to the swamp of rice.

Two little sisters, at their childish sport,
Not dreaming they were born within a snare,
Make glowing pictures for the time to come—
They build grand castles in the summer air:
The hammer falls:—the two are sold apart,
To dream of each and feel a broken heart.

Poor child of bondage!—'Tis a knavish plea
That robs thee of thy liberty and bread;
They aim to keep thee a submissive tool—
To humble thee 'till aspiration's dead;
Then, when thy spirit's driven to its grave,
They point and say fate made thee for a slave.

They speak of Afric' as a Pagan land,
And vow that bondage is thy truest friend;
But with example and a freeman's right,
Thy native force would reach a prouder end.
If there's advantage or religious gain,
Give it to progress, not to lash and chain.

Thou bane of hope! around thee concentrate
More sickly horrors than the pen can write;
More damning evils than the mortal brain
Can e'en imagine in its highest flight.
Thy field is anguish, darkness, and disgust,
Vile tyranny and self-consuming lust.

And brilliant statesmen, for their private gain,
Apologize for this inhuman trade;
And fawn like spaniels to a few proud knaves,
Who'd own the white man of the plough and spade.
They boldly argue, with sophistic art,
God smiles on that which racks a noble heart!

No theologian with a doubtful text,
No settled practice of an olden saint,
Can scent or polish what our "framers" called
A heinous scourge and pestilential taint.
What our unfettered wisdom holds as true
Is inspiration—ay! and Scripture, too.

Bear it away! No longer I'd behold
A thing suggestive of a nation's night:
Give no tradition to the child unborn,
Or tell the heathen of our country's blight.
Sink to the bottom of a deep abyss
All recollection of a shame like this.

Senates, awake! and dedicate to God
Columbia a unit—free, sublime!—
Or let our manhood, with a righteous sword,
Rouse sons of Afric' in the rebel clime;
Beat down their shambles with your martial knocks,
And kindle fires out of Auction Blocks!

—*Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch.*

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

NAMING Toussaint L'Ouverture and Fernando Wood together is much like mentioning Shakspeare and Nahum Tate in the same category; but Mr. Wood has chosen the connection, however agreeable or disagreeable it may be to him, by a letter which he has written to *The National Intelligencer*. Some extremely unlearned persons having wished to doubt that so remarkable a man as Toussaint L'Ouverture was a pure-blooded black, the editors of *The Intelligencer* have honestly undertaken to prove facts of world-wide knowledge. Mr. Wood is naturally indignant, and therefore stultifies himself as follows:

"I was surprised to find in *The Intelligencer* of this morning an admission that Toussaint L'Ouverture was anything but a blood-thirsty, cruel negro—the author of the horrid massacres which signalized the first efforts at forcible emancipation in the West Indies. The recent effort of Abolitionists to create a character for him of elevation and humanity, contrary to the fact, is, like their doctrines, repulsive and disgusting. Toussaint L'Ouverture was a full-blooded negro, with all the native barbarity and cunning of the race in its original condition. Circumstances made him a prominent object during the dreadful days of assassination and arson on the Island of San Domingo, and it was his fiendish superiority in slaying and burning which afterwards made him a ruler among his fellow barbarians. I do not deny that he had intelligence, but this intelligence was developed in obtaining the mastery over other negroes, and in using them as his instruments of ambition."

The editors of *The Intelligencer* made the following reply:

"The readers of our brief article of yesterday on Toussaint L'Ouverture, will remember that we limited ourselves in it to the simple ascertainment of his extraction. It formed no part of our purpose to appreciate his character, either moral or intellectual, and no reference was made by us to his 'place in history,' except such as was given in the words of his 'most admiring biographer,' who admits, in the extract we quoted, that the charges of 'harshness' and 'cruelty' brought against Toussaint are not to be denied. That he was something *more* than a 'blood-thirsty, cruel negro' would seem to be conceded by Mr. Wood's tribute to his 'intelligence.' That he was not '*the author* of the horrid massacres which signalized the first efforts at forcible emancipation in the West Indies' is sufficiently proven by the late day at which he participated in the revolt of his fellow-slaves, whose excesses he at least moderated when in power, and which he certainly did not originate."

Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was undoubtedly one of the greatest men of his time, has left his vindication with his enemies—the French, English, and Spanish, whom he beat—but all the enemies of the black race are not as candid as those of Toussaint, who, to say the least, was as justifiable as Cromwell, and more humane than Napoleon. The "cruelties" attributed to Toussaint are small, indeed, compared to those of his enemies. By what propriety, moral, historic, or otherwise, does Mr. Wood exclaim against "horrid massacres," "barbarity and cunning," "assassinations and arson," and "instruments of ambition," terms which serve to recall the riots of New York?—*Philadelphia Press.*

HAWTHORNE'S FUNERAL.—The village church in Concord was filled with the odor of Spring flowers, on Monday afternoon, and a convocation of mourners that no common occurrence could bring together—Longfellow, Emerson, Holmes, Lowell, Whipple, and Agassiz among them—assembled to honor New England's greatest novelist. Rev. James Freeman Clarke conducted the services, and said fittingly of the deceased:

"If there ever has been one who was eminently himself, and received, cherished and faithfully fulfilled that which God gave to him, it was our friend who has left us. It is not for me to speak of him, for many of you knew him better than I. But we all know this of him, and we knew it in his writings, in which he put himself; we know of him that his plan was his own, and that his whole work came according to the law which God had impressed upon it, and that God placed him here to glorify this tame New-England life, and to pour over it all that poetry that was in his heart. I know no other thinker or writer who has had such sympathy as he had with that dark shadow which falls over our existence—that shadow which theologians call sin. He seemed to be the friend of sinners in all his writings. I think we may give him that title. I think that he may follow after our Heavenly friend, and bear something of the same name. He entered into those mysterious depths and felt his way through those dark passages of the human heart; and always with the tenderest sympathy, always to show us that there is something in our own hearts which might have led us the same way. I think that was a work which our friend has done which was never done before as he did it. It was not that he did not recognize all that was right and generous and noble in nature. His books were full of sunshine as well as of shade. They are sunny all through, and the dear mother, Nature, who sympathizes with her children, seems to-day to have bound all the stars of her beauty around her, as a parting tribute to this her son who has been so faithful to her allegiance. All this fragrance and sweetness of the opening year which is breathed around us, seems to be the farewell of the mother to the son who has gone into that higher nature, that nobler work, and that larger life which is ready for us when we have finished our work here."

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE SOUTH.

LETTER FROM THE WIFE OF A REBEL GENERAL.

THE London *Times* publishes the following extract of a letter from the wife of a rebel general to a friend in Europe:

"There are many little things in which our daily life is changed—many luxuries cut off from the table which we have forgotten to miss. Our mode of procuring necessaries is very different and far more complicated. The condition of our currency has brought about many curious results; for instance, I have just procured leather for our negro shoes by exchanging tallow for it, of which we had a quantity from some fine beeves fattened and killed upon the place. I am now bargaining with a factory up the country to exchange pork and lard with them for blocks of yarn to weave negro clothes; and not only negro clothing I have woven, I am now dyeing thread to weave homespun for myself and daughters. I am ravelling up or having ravelled all the old scraps of fine worsteds and dark silks to spin thread for gloves for the general and self, which gloves I am to knit. These home-knit gloves and these home-spun dresses will look much neater and nicer than you would suppose. My daughters and I, being in want of under garments, I sent a quantity of lard to the Macon factory, and received in return fine unbleached calico—a pound of lard paying for a yard of cloth. They will not sell their cloth for money. This unbleached calico my daughters and self are now making up for ourselves. You see some foresight is necessary to provide for the necessaries of life. If I were to describe all the cutting and altering of old things to make them new which now perpetually goes on, I should far outstep the limits of a letter—perhaps I have done so already—but I thought this sketch would amuse you and give you some idea of our Confederate ways and means of living and doing. At Christmas I sent presents to my relations in Savannah, and instead of the elegant trifles I used to give at that season I bestowed as follows: several bushels of meal, peas, bacon, butter, lard, eggs, sausages, soap (home-made), rope, string, and a coarse basket! all which articles, I am assured, were most warmly welcomed, and more acceptable than jewels and silks would have been. To all of this we are so familiarized that we laugh at these changes in our ways of life, and keep our regrets for graver things. The photographs of your children I was so happy to see. You would have smiled to have heard my daughters divining the present fashion from the style of dress in the likenesses. You must know that, amid all the woes of the Southern Confederacy, her women still feel their utter ignorance of the fashions whenever they have a new dress to make up or an old one to renovate. I imagine that when our intercourse with the rest of mankind is revived we shall present a singular aspect; but what we shall have lost in external appearance I trust we shall have gained in sublimer virtues and more important qualities."

THE YOUNG TOBACCO-CHEWER CURED.

ON board a ship, one day, we were stowing away the hammocks, when one of the boys came with his hammock on his shoulder, and, as he passed, the first lieutenant perceived that he had a quid of tobacco in his mouth.

"What have you got there?" asked the first lieutenant. "A gum-boil? Your cheek is much swollen."

"No, sir," replied the boy; "there's nothing at all the matter."

"O, there *must* be! Perhaps it is a bad tooth. Open your mouth, and let me see."

Very reluctantly the boy opened his mouth, which contained a large roll of tobacco-leaf.

"I see—I see," said the lieutenant. "Poor fellow! how you must suffer! Your mouth wants overhauling, and your teeth cleaning. I wish," continued he, "we had a dentist on board. But, as we have not, *I* will operate as well as I can. Send the armorer up here with the tongs."

When the armorer made his appearance with his big tongs, the boy was compelled to open his mouth, while the tobacco was extracted with this rough instrument.

"There, now!" said the lieutenant, "I'm sure that you must feel better already. You never have any appetite with such stuff in your mouth. Now, captain of the after-guard, bring a piece of old canvas and some sand, and clean his teeth nicely."

The captain of the after-guard came forward, and, grinning from ear to ear, put the unwilling boy's head between his knees, and scrubbed his teeth well with sand and canvas for two or three minutes.

"There, that will do," said the lieutenant. "Now, my little fellow, take some water and rinse out your mouth, and you will enjoy your breakfast. It was impossible for you to have eaten anything with your mouth in such a filthy state. When you are troubled in the same way again, have no scruples about coming to me, and I will be your dentist."

It is needless to say that the affair occasioned a good deal of merriment at the boy's expense. He was, however, completely cured of the habit of tobacco-chewing by the occurrence, and doubtless has no disposition now to complain of the apparently harsh discipline which accomplished so desirable a result. If some such measure were adopted with the many young and unfledged chewers and smokers that are to be met with among us, they themselves would be largely benefited, and society relieved of a great evil.—*Trask's Tracts.*

AN AFRICAN DINNER.—W. Winwood Reade, Fellow of the Geographical and Anthropological Societies of London, has just published there a very amusing and interesting narrative of a tour on the African continent, in which he gives a remarkably rich account of a dinner at a French trading post on the Casemanche river, in Senegambia. The cookery in this case was French; but most of the delicacies were indigenous. The first course consisted of "tree oysters"; for be it known that on the western coast of Africa the trees that dip their branches in the tidal waters are the roosting places of most delicious bivalves, which are torn from their coigns of vantage as we should pull chickens from the perch, and served raw on the half-shell, or broiled or boiled as the taste of the epicure may dictate. After the semi-sylvan oysters came gazelle cutlets *en papillotte*, and two small monkeys served cross legged on toast, with liver sauce—a dish for anthropophagi; but rather too much like harbacued babies to be relished by Christian fathers. Stewed iguana—an exaggerated lizard—flanked with roasted crocodile eggs, followed; and, says our traveller, "they were much admired." The next rarity was smoked elephant from the interior, which was not admired, being somewhat tougher than hammered sole-leather. On the heels of the elephant came fried locusts and fattened land crabs. What the African land crabs feed on we do not know; but everybody who has been to the West Indies is aware that they haunt the graveyards in Jamaica and Barbadoes, and generally get very fat in yellow fever seasons. It may be prejudice, perhaps, but we prefer sea crabs. A very especial *bonne bouche* was next in order—the breasts of the *manatus*, or sea cow, an amphibious creature with hand-like paws, half human face, and fishy extremity, which is supposed to have been the mermaid of the mendacious past. Some boiled alligator, which "had a taste between pork and cod," with the addition of a patchouly flavor, was afterwards introduced, and "hippopotamus steaks *aux pommes de terre*" closed the series of substantials.—*Round Table.*

"WHO KNOWETH THE SPIRIT OF A BEAST?"—There was a little boy who mourned bitterly the death of a pet guinea-pig. The night after the bereavement his watchful mother heard a plaintive call from the sleepless mourner in the nursery: "Mamma, have great big elephants souls?" "No, darling." A pause, and then in fainter tones: "Mamma, have oxen souls?" "No, no, dear. Go to sleep!" A longer interval, and then the scarcely audible voice piped again: "Mamma, have dogs souls?" The tender mother sees at last the drift of the zoological catechism, and grieves to answer as her conscience bids: "No, precious, I am afraid not." A silence, a sob, and then a heart-broken wail: "Oh, mamma, haven't little c-l-e-a-n white guinea-pigs souls?" Cheer up, little heart. Somewhere in that beautiful Home to come, toward which your love looked forward with longing for reunion with its object, there must be a snug little corner where they will let us have our own again. Cowper his hares, you your immaculate little pets. And I even dare hope that caudal shortcomings may there find compensation; for what saith the stern old reformer, the good Martin Luther, to his dog? "Hans, Hans, be quiet, and in the resurrection thou shalt have a little golden tail."—*Mrs. E. A. Walker.*

THE POWER OF DOGMATISM.—Theologians are divided into two great classes by their native capacity and culture. The most numerous class are the men of inflexible logic, narrow sympathies and invincible will, who elaborate a compact and uncompromising system of the universe, prove it by the letter of the Scripture, or by reason, and enforce it with all their might. They are the creators and leaders of the sects and cliques into which christendom has always been divided, and are mainly honest, able, religious men, who believe themselves doing God's service when they build a wall of logic about a section of the human race, calling the interior heaven and the outside hell. Christianity has advanced and yet does advance by the labors of such apostles; not by their bigotry and exclusiveness, but by the contribution of vital truth they make to the common fund of the Church. Truth is everywhere evolved by discussion, and the bigot who pushes a partial fact in religion to its last absurd result, often does a great service to mankind. Of this class Augustine in the ancient, and Calvin in the reformed Church are illustrious examples. But they have been followed by the leaders and managers of all Christian sects. Jonathan Edwards and Theodore Parker, so widely different in opinion, best represent this tendency in America. Both had a cast-iron system of the universe, and were honestly incapable of comprehending how a wise and good man could live outside of it. We can do justice to this class of men for their illustration of partial truth, while we reject their narrowness and exclusive claim to the kingdom of God. They are the most efficient men in the church, for the mass of the people like a compact creed which asserts positively, and refuses to compromise, saves the trouble of thought, and leads to active propagandism and religious enterprise.—*Rev. A. D. Mayo.*

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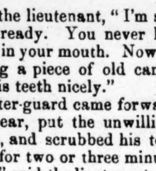

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